1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

accompanied them, founding near by the aldea of Peleguim under the chief Francisco. Others remained near Praia Grande under the leadership of a fugitive from justice named Marciano.

In 1900 these Timbira were reinforced by some twenty new migrants from the Pindaré. In that area chief Karinẽ''s band, which lived along the Riacho Gallego, had been exterminated by the Guajajára, who were aided by a rubber-gathering expedition. The survivors, led by chief Manoel Pixuna, fled to their tribesmen on the Gurupy.

In 1903 the Urubú attacked and killed several members of an encampment of these Timbira on a western affluent of the Gurupy-una, where they were gathering capahi oil. In 1906 the aldea of Peleguim reunited with that of Praia Grande. A new epidemic of measles claimed its victims, among them the "chief" Marciano, whereupon the survivors once more joined the Ayres Pereira family, which after being ousted from Bôa Vista by the Urubú had resettled upstream at the mouth of the Araparytíua.

During a six months' stay on the upper Gurupy in 1914 and 1915 I encountered this group several times. They were by then reduced to a population of 41, but in contrast to the Tembé had remained comparatively pure. They were peaceable, trusting, and loyal. Most of the men, but only a few of the women, spoke some Portuguese; however, in consequence of their proximity to the Tembé of Praia Grande, nearly all spoke likewise the Tupí dialect of that tribe. Among themselves they conversed exclusively in their rough, guttural Timbira tongue; the chief, Pedro Čumeré, dictated to me a list of sixty-two words, for the most part reproduced in my Vokabular der Timbiras von Maranhão und Pará.

Even in their own settlement—a bare hundred paces from the Ayres Pereira household—they wore more or less clothing and had abandoned the ancient mode of dressing the hair. Only the older men still had extended ears, but removal of eyebrows and lashes was still a general practice. Bows and arrows were used only to shoot fish, having been superseded by firearms in the chase.

A year before my arrival they had celebrated an old-style festival, with racing logs and masks. Of these I was able to view the remains: cylindrical headdresses with two long horns and a feather mosaic; their term ku' uxj'd corresponds to the Rąmkō'kamekra kōkrj't." It had been the very last festival of the kind, for the only elder capable of conducting it had died since the performance.

At the time of my visit the Timbira had unfortunately given up farming, to which they had begun to devote themselves, in order to gather capahi oil, hire themselves out as river boatmen, or otherwise enter the service of the rubber gatherers, a mode of life bound to lead to economic and social ruin. Nevertheless they maintained their population for some years to come, for the census of 1919 sets their number at 43. Today, after their transfer by the Serviço to the Tembé station (Felippe Camarão), at the mouth of the Jararaca, there are said to be only a few survivors.

I could not ascertain a tribal name for these Timbira, possibly because the bands that emigrated from the Pindaré at different times belonged to different tribes which united only on the Gurupy. In their earlier home on the Pindaré there are no longer any Timbira.

2–3. The Krẽyé of Bacabal; the Kukóekamekra

These two tribes, together with the extinct Pobzé, probably correspond to Ribeiro's "Timbiras do Baixo Mearim,"[2]—people, he declares, who are called "Guajojaras."

[1] It designates a water monster and the society named after it.
[2] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 57; Roteiro, 26.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

constantly pushed northward. During my first stay in Alcobaça (1926) I already heard of hostile Indians in the vicinity of the Caxoeira dos Guaribas (4° S. latitude), but those I saw at the time at Mundurucú, somewhat below these falls, belonged to the Amanayé tribe (of Tupí stock) and had come from the Mojú. In February 1930, when I once more ascended the Tocantins, a new attack had occurred precisely at these rapids, on the Ribeirão Pitinga. The arrows gathered from the site were indistinguishable from the Gaviões type.

However, the present headquarters of the tribe are placed in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Jacundá. This rivulet, not to be confounded with its namesake near the Caxoeira Itaboca, flows from the north emptying into the Tocantins a mile downstream from São João do Araguaya. Upstream they still range along the east bank of the Tocantins about as far as Cocal, three miles beyond the mouth of the Araguaya; in the interior they are said to extend somewhat farther to the east. Their camps have been encountered on the headwaters of the Rio Mojú, which extend much farther south—beyond 4° S. latitude—than the maps indicate. Moreover, the plantations of the Amanayé on the Ararandéua (the western source of the Capim) have been invaded by natives who, judging from the arrows discharged, could only have been Gaviões. Oddly enough, the victimized Tupí tribe calls them Warayú, a name already connected with this area on Father Samuel Frič's map of 1695. The Akwẽ designate all alien tribes as Worazu.

I have never heard of any Gaviões invasion of the region about the forked sources of the Gurupy, a district partly unsettled, partly occupied by the Krẽyé and the Tembé (Tupí). Prior to their migration into the Capim area, the Amanayé used to live on the east fork (the Cajuapára) and later on the middle fork (the Tucumandí). Snethlage is misinformed in speaking of wild Gaviões *or* Urubú in the region of the Gurupy headwaters and in identifying these people with the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and the Timbira of Araparytíua, whom I myself had once erroneously designated as Mehí.[a] The habitat of the Urubú, whom Snethlage correctly classes as Tupí in connection with their attack on Redondo on the Maracassumé,[b] lies between the Gurupy and the Pindaré; they have never gone beyond the Gurupy-Mirim confluence, 3° 40′ S. latitude. Thus, the Gaviões and Urubú were not even immediate neighbors, for they were separated along the Gurupy by the main body of Tembé in ten villages (1914).

Except for a few words, inadequately enough recorded by Moura in 1896 and by Manoel da Matta in 1912, nothing is known about the language of the Western Gaviões. In many respects they seem to differ from the Pụkóbye of the Grajahú steppe. Whether they actually perforate the lower lip, as some allege, has not been definitely determined. On the other hand, though they do pierce the lobe of the ear, they certainly do not wear the large earplugs of the Pụkóbye and other Timbira, nor do they cut their hair so as to produce the characteristically Timbira furrow. In their woods the above-mentioned unsuccessful punitive expedition saw wide, straight streets, which suggest the universal Timbira practice of log racing. There has likewise been found a girdle with rattling tapir hoofs of the type worn by the other tribes in their races.

The Western Gaviões are the only Timbira still living free and unconfined. Their investigation would be of extraordinary significance for the illumination of Timbira culture, but could only become possible by a lucky fluke, for no one knows when or where they will get to the river bank, and to search for them in the interior

[a] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 114, 142.
[b] *Idem.*, Meine Reise, 113.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

619 179 is impracticable. During six trips along the entire range of their territory on the Tocantins I have never seen a single member of the tribe.

8. The Kre'pṳ'mkateye

619 101 This name I have never been able to grasp fully either as to its meaning or its phonetics. From the lips of the Ramkõ'kamekra I recorded it as in the heading of this section; *in situ* I heard it as Krẽ' pṳ'mkateye or Kreapṳ'mkateye. Which is correct, I cannot decide because the composition of the word is obscure. Formally it is a locative designating, according to the Indians themselves, a body of water known to Neobrazilians as Lago Comprido (Long Lake). In any event it is not a literal translation of the Neobrazilian term, but possibly the lake is actually called kre' pṳ'm (or similarly) in the Indian tongue. Possibly the Ramkõ'kamekra interpretation holds, viz. that the name denotes a locality where ostriches lay (pum) eggs (kre).

619 175 The designation must be relatively recent, for in the literature it is wholly lacking, and the Neobrazilians nowadays merely refer to this tribe as Timbira. Possibly they are descendants of the old Caracategé (= Cannacategé? = Karẽkateye?), whose name persists in the name of a district on the east bank of the Grajahú, just upstream from the present habitat of the Kre' pṳ'mkateye. In 1851 these Caracategé are certainly still mentioned as living on the Grajahú.[a] Tradition has it that the first Neobrazilians descending the Grajahú (1811) were attacked by Timbira in the immediate vicinity of this locality, since known as Desordem.

Wells briefly mentions the tribe several times, reporting the attempt made in 1863 by the chief Curaxé to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Neobrazilians.[b] On his map the Itambeiras are entered on the left Grajahú bank, between Marajar (= Marajá) and Caracatigy (Caracategé).

[721] During the Guajajára uprising of 1901 these Timbira alone of all the Grajahú residents not only failed to flee from the rebels, but at the instigation of the local authorities attacked the Guajajára with a handful of warriors, cruelly destroying two populous villages. Their old squinting chief, Major Clementino, told me in [115] 1929 how he had personally slain the Guajajára leader.

619 161 The 1919 census of the Serviço do Protecção aos Indios sets the number of Kre' pṳ'mkateye of Terra Nova, just below the fazenda Independencia, at only 47; this, like many other figures of that census, seems too low. In 1924 Snethlage visited the tribe in their village, then just above Independencia, where they were living with several Guajajára; he estimated the villagers at from 150 to 200.

619 131 177 In 1929 I spent six days with this people in their settlement at Gamelleira do Rumo, ten kilometers farther downstream. They were living in dependence on the proprietor of the fazenda Independencia, and though really not ill-treated they were evidently in a state of decline. At least on the Grajahú, even on the site of their hamlet, they could no longer call a span of land their own.

199 Of their dialect, which differs quite inconsiderably from that of the Krĩkatí and Pṳkóbye, I recorded two hundred and sixty-nine words on that occasion.

9. The Krahõ'

619 101 This name signifies "hair of the paca" (*Coelogenys paca*); it might just as well be interpreted as "burity leaf," but the Indians expressly told me that the term bore the former meaning. It is the tribal name in their own language, as well as that in vogue among other Timbira and Neobrazilians.

[a] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios." [b] Wells, Exploring, 2:284, 285, 277–278.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

In 1913 I met the same Luiz Ka'tą'm in Rio de Janeiro at the chief office of the Serviço de Proteeção aos Indios and also took down samples of his language. He told me, too, that he was a Krahõ' and was living on the Manoel Alves Pequeño, where the villages of this tribe, including Gamelleira, are actually situated. Today I am certain that he was not a Krahõ', but an Apinayé from Bacaba, as clearly proved by his name, his perforated lower lip, and the vocabulary. His mendacious statements were made in order to establish his citizenship in Bahia, with claims to support from the government of that state. When once known to the outside world as a Krahõ', he deemed it wiser to persist in the pretense in order to guard against the contingency of being recognized by some Bahian in Rio.

The Krahõ' have never lived on the Rio Preto or elsewhere in Bahia. Both Sampaio's and my own vocabulary of 1913 are useless as samples of Krahõ' speech, for both represent pure Apinayé, while (as Martius noted in 1819 when recording his Aponegicran word list) the Krahõ' dialect wholly coincides with that of the Canella.

What little information Luiz Ka'tą'm dropped concerning the customs of his people in speaking with Sampaio either applies exclusively to the Apinayé (burity carrying girdle for children, assistance rendered at rapids) or is incorrect (stone knives, transport of fire in pottery). Sampaio's vocabulary also contains a comical blunder: "soul" (Portuguese alma) = catonço; but katõk actually signifies firearms (Port. arma). Equally unreliable is the localization of Gê tribes on his map.

In 1926 Snethlage met several Krahõ' in Carolina and with their aid took down a list of seventy words. In April and May 1930, when I lived among this tribe, I dispensed with obtaining a special vocabulary because of the manifest identity of Krahõ' with the Rąmkõ'kamekra dialect.

I was able to ascertain that the tribe, which now lives in the district of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño, between 8° and 9° S. latitude, has two subdivisions, a northern and a southern.

The southern group, which bears the name of Mąkamekra (ostrich tribe), had had its village first on the Gamelleira, then on the Donzella, these being brooks tributary to the upper Manoel Alves Pequeño. A short time before my visit, however, the pressure of the near-by fazendeiros had caused a split, each half now living separately under the chiefs Secundo and Bernardino, respectively, around the headwaters of that river. A friend of the Indians long resident in their vicinity, Santo Moreira, tried hard to prop up the tottering community and to defend the last bit of Indian land against the intruding stockbreeders. But the wiles and calumny of his opponents, with whom the despicable chief Secundo was in league, thwarted all his efforts.

The other subdivision, inhabiting the aldeas of Pedra Branca (pl. 1, *a*) and Pedra Furada some fifty kilometers to the north, on right affluents of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño, is called Kenpókateye, that is, those of the flat rock. For the time being two villages of seventeen and sixteen houses, respectively, remain closely knit communities which are still organized up to a certain point in ancient Timbira fashion. To be sure, the Brazilian Baptist missionaries stationed near Pedra Furada are exerting themselves to break up the old organization. They wish to settle the Indians according to the missionaries' notions of a colony, with abolition of log racing, etc. But since the influence of this mission is clearly very slight, the hope remains that these plans, whose realization would signify the beginning of the end for the Krahõ' will not be executed in the immediate future.

In 1930 the surviving Mąkamekra numbered close to 100; the two Kenpókateye villages may be set at 150 souls each, so that the entire Krahõ' tribe may be estimated at 400.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

619 177 In comparison with the Rąmkõ'kamekra the Krahõ' appear culturally impoverished—a possible result of their repeated wanderings and of their resettlement under Neobrazilian influence.

10. The Põrekamekra

619 101 114 According to the mutually corroboratory testimony of Ribeiro and the Krahõ' the remnants of the Põrekamekra merged with the Mąkamekra horde of the Krahõ' over a century ago. Ribeiro identifies them with the Cupinharó, but remarks subsequently that these people, of whom he had learnt in 1800 as steppe dwellers to the west of the Grajahú, either had never existed at all or had been destroyed by the Põrekamekra and Pųkóbye.[a] The tribal name in question, which still figures in the traditions of contemporary Rąmkõ'kamekra, is doubtless Timbira kupẽyaró, from kupẽ (alien tribe) and ro (stooping, bent). Thus, the very term proves that it refers to a non-Timbira people, thereby excluding the Põrekamekra. Martius suggests that they may have been Tupí and explains the name as Cupynnaras (ant men).

In 1722 or 1723 war was waged against the Cupinharós, Guanarés, Barbados, and Anapurús—all of them tribes of the northeast corner of Maranhão, between the Itapicurú and Parnahyba,[b] but at the beginning of the nineteenth century the tribe is mentioned solely for the Tocantins region. It is said to have owned an idol (dance mask?) which the commandant of Pastos Bons sent to the governor of Maranhão. According to Martius,[c] the tribe was existing "even today" (1819? 1867?) unconfined on the Tocantins, south of São Pedro de Alcantara. In any event, Ribeiro's identification of the Kupẽyaró and the Põrekamekra is unacceptable.

The only two, almost synchronous, sources on the Põrekamekra, Pohl (1819) and Ribeiro (who saw them in 1815 and probably also later) are not easily reconciled. According to Pohl, Pinto de Magalhães, after his sudden appearance on the Tocantins in 1808, first made a treaty of peace with this tribe on the west bank, subsequently coming to terms with the Krahõ' attackers of the Põrekamekra. Contrary to Pohl, the Põrekamekra could not formerly have lived much farther south, for there lay the territory of the Akwẽ-Šavánte. During Magalhães' subsequent stay in Pará, Antonio Moreira's bandeira attacked and massacred the Indians. In 1810 Magalhães returned, assembled the Indians anew, and founded São Pedro de Alcantara, while Placido Carvalho, who had accompanied him from Pará, settled with the Põrekamekra at Cocal, at the apex of the great westward bend of the Tocantins below Carolina, that is, on the west bank. Pohl seems to indicate that this occurred immediately after Magalhães' return. Nine years later Pohl visited the colony of Cocal, remaining from August 9 to 11, 1819.

According to this author, then, the Põrekamekra resided on the west side of the Tocantins at least from about 1808 until 1819.

619 175 Ribeiro, certainly far more familiar with the development of the district after his nineteen years' stay than Pohl could have been after a three days' visit, tells the history of this tribe quite differently. He credits the Põrekamekra originally with two villages between the Pųkóbye (Grajahú region) and the mouth of the Rio [161] Farinha, that is, on the east bank. After Antonio Moreira's offer of peace to one of the villages in 1814, its 400 to 500 inhabitants (not counting the children), headed by chief Cocrít, appeared in São Pedro de Alcantara, bearing green twigs in token of peace. Several months later they moved their settlement near this town, but their

[a] Ribeiro, Roteiro, § 61; Memoria, § 63.
[b] Pereira da Costa, Chronologia, 135.
[c] Martius, Beiträge, 1:198.

Personally I should prefer to follow Ribeiro's example, but tentatively propose
131 the following explanation. Many maps, especially those of earlier date, register
101 between the Rio Corda and the upper Mearim (or its tributary rivulet, the Engeitado) a range of mountains." In reality this, as in other comparable cases, is nothing but an elongated hill hardly one hundred meters above the valley of the Corda. It is visible if one looks from the Apa'nyekra settlement of Porquinhos obliquely upstream across the near-by Rio Corda. This eminence, nowadays commonly known as Pedra Branca, figures on the maps cited as "Serra da Canella" (*nota bene: da Canella*, not *dos Canellas*, as would be inevitable if it were named after the Indian tribe of that name, in whose territory it lies). Whence, then, the appellation for this eminence? The term Canella designates not only "shinbone," but also "cinnamon"; in northern Brazil there are several trees whose bark emits a cinnamon-like odor and which are for that reason quite generally called canella. Conceivably—but only conceivably—the Serra da Canella (fina) got its name from a (slender) cinnamon tree, and the Indians in turn were called after the mountain in their country.

619 101 174 *1. Kénkateye.*—The first sizable left affluent of the Rio Alpercatas is still known as Ribeirão dos Caboclos (caboclo = Indian) because it was the former habitat of the Kénkateye Canella, whose name denotes "those of the rock (or mountains)." According to Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra statements the formation of this tribe seems to be of recent date—I should conjecture about the 'sixties of the last century. It is said to refer to an Apą'nyekra band that at one time joined the Krahõ', who were uniformly friendly to this tribe. Later, the story goes, the emigrants, reinforced by a number of Krahõ', returned and settled in the region of the Alpercatas headwaters, which is known as the *travessia*. In the late summer of 1908 619 175 Kissenberth when traveling from Barra do Corda to Carolina, visited a settlement of eight huts belonging to this tribe, but did not stay more than a few hours."[99]

[161] In 1913 the approximately 150 Kénkateye living in the village of Chinello on the right bank of the Ribeirão dos Caboclos were wiped out by the fazendeiro Raymundo Arruda. With a company of fifty followers and a barrel of gin he entered the aldea to the music of an accordion, got the men drunk, put them in irons, tied them to one another, dragged them outside the village, and had his troop shoot down some fifty males. Several women were also massacred with firearms and bush-knives. Those natives who for one reason or another escaped dispersed. Fróes Abreu's account of this incident is incorrect.[100] The Indian inspector of Maranhão had the murderers put on trial, but the jury of Barra do Corda unanimously acquitted them, and even today the residents proudly point out the members of Arruda's troop who began the massacre.

619 ● 177 114 Most of the survivors sought and found refuge with their old Krahõ' friends, among whom I saw some in 1930 at Pedra Furada. Others fled to the Apą'nyekra, and a few to the Pųkóbye and Rąmkõ'kamekra, but as an independent group they are extinct. Snethlage sets the remnants at possibly 200[101] and makes them reside on the Rio Balsas with other tribal residues—a double error. Pompeu Sobrinho is mistaken in still crediting the fraction residing among the Apą'nyekra with a chief of their own."[102]

619 101 *12. The Apą'nyekra.*—This term (or its variants Apą'nekra and Apą'nkamekra) is common to the people themselves and their neighbors. It is derived from apą'n

[99] Bruá, Carte du Brésil. Niemeyer, Carta do Imperio do Brazil.
[100] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 47; Araguaya-Reise, 41.
[101] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 225.
[102] Nordostbras. Ind., 142; on p. 116 he only speaks of "several" (*einigen*).
[103] Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 5.

21 Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

487 tidy so as to offer no obstacle to the women burdened with their crammed carrying baskets (pl. 5, *b*). Swamps are crossed on extended tree trunks, along which poles are sometimes planted to afford a grip. Brooks are spanned by foot bridges, that is, by thick logs which rest on props driven into the water. These supports are of scissors shape and occasionally have horizontal poles tied to them above for a railing. The logs are sometimes hewn flat on the upper surface so as to prevent the feet from slipping off. If a very thick tree trunk topples across a trail, the Indians will sometimes lay a number of poles close together on both sides, thus making an inclined plane for comfortably ascending and descending.

361 At a distance of seven hundred meters from the circle of houses, where the eastern
312 race track crosses the Ribeirão Santo Estevão, the villagers have their main water supply; there throughout the day one meets Indians of any age and either sex, bathing or fetching water (pl. 2, *b*). Another source, only occasionally utilized by the inmates of two or three houses, was situated two hundred meters farther downstream, in the shade of a picturesque old tree. The Santo Estevão, which even in the dry season may attain a width of 15 m. and a depth of 1.70 m., furnishes very fine, limpid water.

312 Five hundred meters north of the village there is a slope draining toward the
227 Santo Estevão, though a little brook formed at the bottom only during the rainy season (pl. 2, *a*). As soon as the Canella had settled, they planted numerous burity
185 palms to the distance of half a kilometer on the floor of the valley, so that today water is to be found there even in the driest of dry seasons. The Indians further stocked the watercourse created by them with little fish and a young crocodile they had caught—in the hope that these water animals would do their bit to form a true stream of the steppe. No one fell foul of this artificially established burity stand. I have rarely seen chief Kukrãčą' so indignant as when he saw in his niece's hand a young burity leaf she had brought back from her water-carrying trip; he came near dealing her a blow.

312 The Krĩkatí of Canto da Aldea, at the farthest source of the Rio Pindaré, lacked running water, relying on sundry water holes dug at the bottom of the dried-up bed of the creek.

342 . *Houses.*—All the Timbira have settlements nowadays, with houses designed for
177 several years' tenancy; and there they dwell in full numbers, especially during the ceremonial season, from May until August. The form of the houses varies in the several tribes, and to some extent even within a single village, but it invariably bears a strong resemblance to the type in vogue among the poorer Neobrazilians. Since this extends far beyond the Timbira zone among Neobrazilians, occurring likewise among the unrelated Guajajára, we may assume that the Indians have adopted it from their civilized neighbors. The question remains under what influences it developed among the Neobrazilians.

Of the Timbira, the Rąmkõ'kamekra undoubtedly have the best houses. Two parallel rows of forked posts (ikréyõčwáhi) support two horizontal beams (pĩteka'pa), which are connected by two other beams laid across their ends at right angles. In the central line of the interior space there are two or three taller posts (ikréyemáganopĩ) which bear the ridgepole; this is at each side somewhat shorter than the framework. From each end of the ridgepole two girders descend (ikreyõ) over the four corners of the frame. The intervening spaces are filled with a sufficient number of rafters for the attachment of the thatch. Thus the house has a top composed of four planes, the hip-roof type by itself establishing its nonaboriginal character.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

ments of the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye were of the same order; of these, Canto da Aldea had eight huts, São Felix thirteen, and Recurso eleven. These dwellings were either quite open or had a single wall in the rear, whose palm leaves were attached in vertical position, with the points downward. This mode of attachment is characteristic of the aboriginal Eastern Timbira, the method now customary among the Ikụmkõ'kamekra (p. 40), having been adopted from the Neobrazilians according to the Indians' own statements. The smallest and poorest huts I have seen are those in Recurso.

The Kre'pụ'mkateye settlement of Gamelleira do Rumo is situated in the woods, on the steep left bank, 50 m. in height, of the Rio Grajahú. It comprises eight rather small huts, most of them having walls of clay-daubed latticework; they surround an approximately round plaza of barely 50 m. in diameter.

Sleeping and sitting accommodations.—The principal article of furniture is the platform bed (pạ'ra), a grid of closely laid burity leaf stalks resting on four forked posts with two crossbeams. Its ordinary elevation above the floor is about 50 cm., the length from 170 to 200 cm., and the width varies according to the number of occupants—from half a meter for a single person to 3 m. for a sizable family. If the house has a closed space, the beds—one for each individual family—are always indoors. A young girl generally constructs her platform bed below the roof at a height of 2 m., and surrounds it with a partition of mats; for a ladder she uses a notched log or simply a pole tied in slanting position. The boys and young men as a rule sleep in the plaza outdoors, but several of them may sleep on a platform bed indoors. This is, however, merely a makeshift in case of rain.

A larger or smaller number of mats lie on the bed, which when properly made has a bottom layer of one or two mats of babassu or anajá grass (kupíp) to level the unevenness of the surface, with mats of burity bast (ka'tụ') above. The former are long, but relatively narrow and always in a two-step twilling technique; the latter of any desired width (up to 120 cm.), but at most 1 m. in length, to which must be added a 30 to 40 cm. fringe. Some of the Indians make burity mats de luxe by plaiting into the fabric ornamental horizontal or vertical stripes or squares and painting them with yellow dots, strokes, and zigzags, the pigment being derived from the root of the urucú shrub. The burity mats do service as a covering, but the feet remain bare, being always kept warm at night by a fire maintained at the foot of the bed.

However, the mat-covered platform beds also serve as benches and tables; indeed, a large part of domestic life is spent on them. Many take their meals there, some permit pet dogs to find a resting place on the bed. In consequence the mats are usually greasy and brownish-red from urucú and dirt. When they have turned filthy, they are washed in a stream with the leaves of a shrub that yield a soaplike lather. On the other hand, the anajá and babassu grass mats, which can be quickly manufactured, are never washed, but simply superseded by new ones.

On fine nights many families are accustomed to sleep for several hours on mats on the ground directly in front of their houses. After sunset the people like to sit on mats outdoors and thus simply remain lying there, falling asleep, even without a fire, until the chill of the morning drives them inside.

Indoors the Canella mostly seat themselves on the bed or, if it should be present, on a hammock. However, there are also, though rather rarely, curved little stools (mekričạ) from the spathe of the anajá (avarprẽp), especially among the Krĩkatí and Pụkópye. Outdoors one likes to seat oneself on mats, women also using for this purpose fire fans (pl. 12, *a*); and in the woods a bunch of leaves is torn off and

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

used to sit on. In the plaza it is common to sit or lie on the bare ground, though some regularly bring along a mat to rest on, others making a flat club into a little bench. But beams as seats placed at the periphery of the plaza I saw only among the Kre'pų'mkateye.

The platform bed is universal among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Apą'nyekra, and Krahõ', but Snethlage misunderstands Silva e Souza when citing him to support its use among the Southern Kayapó. That author merely reports "arranchamentos com 400 camas," which last word may designate a sleeping facility on the ground as well as on furniture. Snethlage also misquotes me on the subject of hammocks; these are not in vogue among the Krĩkatí, who sleep on mats on the ground and are covered with mats, which partly holds also for the Pųkóbye.[219] He rightly ascribes hammocks to the Kre'pų'mkateye—the only Timbira among whom a number of persons regularly sleep in hammocks. The Krĩkatí, Pųkóbye, and Rąmkõ'kamekra do own a fair number of these contrivances, but exclusively for resting in the daytime, and nearly all of them have been obtained in barter from the near-by Guajajára. The hammocks found among the Krĩkatí and Pųkóbye all come from the quite isolated hamlet of Urucú; the Kre'pų'mkateye obtain theirs from the Guajajára farther up the Grajahú; and the Rąmkõ'kamekra from the settlements of the same tribe beyond the Rio Corda. The last-mentioned Timbira have also obtained some Neobrazilian specimens on their begging trips to state capitals.

In any case, to date the Timbira have never manufactured a single cotton hammock. On the other hand, in their temporary camps they will take but a few minutes to complete a hammock quite serviceable for a few days by interlacing the tips of two burity leaflets. The ropes for suspending this type of hammock are made of the stalks of the two leaves when worn down to a thin strip. Occasionally such hammocks may be seen even in permanent villages, especially among the Krahõ'. Among the Apą'nyekra, Snethlage saw a hammock for little children that had been knotted together from a few bast threads. I noted a rather large sample of this type among the Rąmkõ'kamekra; it consisted of ropes made of the black bark of a *philodendron* species. It was not in the Guajajára twined technique, but rather conformed to that of Timbira scoop nets (pl. 17, *c*), though wider-meshed. The Šerénte rather frequently fasten such hammocks to the branches of trees for hunting from ambush; accordingly, there is no reason to think of diffusion from the Tupí.

Storage.—In two or three Ponto houses there was in one corner an attic with a flooring of poles. It was partitioned off with thatched walls, provided with a small door, and made accessible by a notched tree. This chamber serves for the storage of provisions and of valuables; it is due to Neobrazilian influence. Not a single Timbira tribe has scaffolds for the stowing away of utensils. Except for the attics just described, such objects are thrust into the roof or wall thatch; stuck under the beds; or, in the case of small articles, most commonly suspended in bags and baskets, such as are always available in considerable numbers. For this purpose the house posts are frequently allowed to keep a projecting limb, and the same end is served by the cords that sometimes hang down from the rafters. However, there are no specially designed hooks or crossbeams for suspension.

Fire.—The fireplaces, fixed appurtenances of the dwellings, fall into three categories. First, there is the small fire kept going in the night at the foot of the beds; in the daytime it is not used except possibly for some technological task. Secondly, there is the fireplace with its hearthstones for boiling food; this often coincides with the foregoing,[220] but otherwise is likely to be placed in the unenclosed space

[219] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 155, 116.

[220] This seems contradictory to the preceding statement. *Editor.*

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

in front of the house. This is an innovation, for originally boiling was unknown to any of the Timbira, who probably cooked on the spit or in the ashes at the fires by their camp sites. Borrowed from the Neobrazilians along with the cooking pots, these fireplaces are always under the roof. Finally, there is the earth oven (kíyačą), invariably, whether in the village or in an encampment, several meters behind the dwelling and toward the open steppe except for certain special ceremonies, when it must be constructed in front of the houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. When not in use, the oven appears as an ugly hodge-podge of rocks, dug-up earth, charred logs, leaves, and old mats. It is common to all Timbira tribes.

The fireplaces of the age classes in the plaza do not serve for the preparation of food.

If a fire should go out nowadays and there is no neighbor from whom one could borrow a brand, the Indians strike fire with the Neobrazilian strike-a-light consisting of the tip of a cow horn, steel, and flint, with charred cotton for tinder. However, everybody is still familiar with the old drill (rą'ra) composed of two urucú staves. The drill itself is about ½-m. long, somewhat less than a finger's breadth, and terminates in a blunt point. The hearth is about of the same length and somewhat thicker. The pit of the hearth has a lateral groove, which, however, is sometimes lacking. (Fig. 2.) The driller sits down and presses the hearth against the ground with his feet (pl. 5, *c*). On trips to the plantations or to catch fish in the brook at night it is customary to take along firebrands.

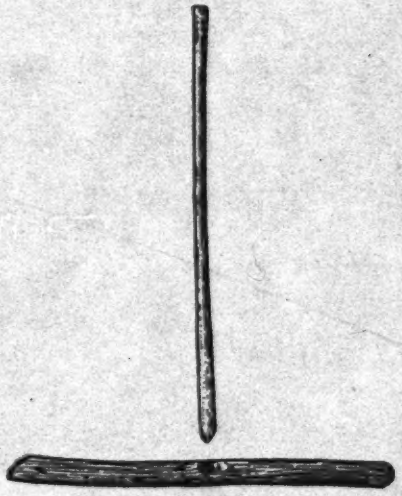


Fig. 2. Fire drill. ⅛ nat. size.

For blowing the fire into a flame the Indians use a fire fan (kapẽ'rčą), that is, a quadrangular or hexagonal little mat of babassu, anajá, or bacaba palm grass (pl. 12, *a*). Occasionally it may also serve as a seat, for shoveling away offal, or for covering a pot.

It is the women's duty to fetch firewood, and usually one will invite another to join her. But should there be a large, dry log that is too heavy, a man will often do the carrying.

The origin of fire is explained in a myth which I have recorded with only minor variations among the Ramkõ'kamekra, Krẽyé of Bacabal, Apinayé, and Šerénte.[109]

Special structures.—Apart from ceremonial huts, which are always removed after the festive season, I observed the following structures in Ponto. Somewhat behind and on one side of the house inhabited by the widowed chief Kukrãčą' and his kinswomen there stood under a roof (forny fikwa; from Portuguese *forno*, roasting pan) a huge copper roasting pan for the preparation of manioc flour; it rested on four wooden legs driven into the ground. The chief had received it as a gift from an Indian friend some twenty-five years ago. It was used by all the villagers, who in return gave the chief some of the flour they prepared. In Pedra

[109] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 154 *et seq.*, 1939.

1: Nimuendaju? E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

Branca (pl. 1, *a*) the Krahõ′ had a similar hut, which stood about three hundred meters behind the circle of houses.

Several Indians engaged in pig breeding had erected well-built roofs 2 m. square under which the beasts could sleep in bad weather if they so chose; they were not forcibly enclosed there. The tame taitetú pigs always used for ceremonial slaughter at certain festivities are kept in cages 1 m. high, which the owners generally put up in front of their houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. A cage consists of upright poles roofed with palm fronds.

The few Indians who raise fowls keep them behind the dwelling in little gable roofs resting directly on the ground and constructed of poles, pieces of bark, and old mats. At night they are barred with pieces of wood. The structure, like the poultry itself, was borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

The exceptional little stall for strangers which the Apą′nyekra put up in Porquinhos has been mentioned (p. 40). No Timbira tribe has a men's or bachelors' house corresponding to the warã of the Akwẽ-Seréntе.[28] Meetings are held in the plaza outdoors, which is also the general sleeping place of the young men.

Away from the village the Rąmkõ′kamekra, so far as they require any form of shelter, erect the following forms of hut. If the cultivated plots are far away, a hut is put up for the period that requires the owners' presence. Such a structure is not erected in the plantation itself, but in the steppe in front of the *galeria* forest. Usually it is rectangular and gable-roofed, smaller and less massive than the fixed dwellings. However, occasionally the old beehive type (ikré yiróno) occurs—a hemispherical form about 1.80 m. in height inside. The framework consists of eight or more thin trunks stuck into the ground in a circle and bent together at the top, the branches being interlaced into walls, or—rarely—tied together. There are no special horizontal hoops. This skeleton is covered round about with palm fronds, their tips up, their ribs in vertical position; other fronds are laid on top crisscross. This shelter, if carefully set up, is altogether rainproof except for some leakage at the bottom. On one side there is left an entrance 1½ m. in height.

Similar, but as a rule less carefully built, are the huts of temporary encampments, such as all the steppe Timbira erect when large companies of them are hunting or away for some special task. In that case the arrangement of the huts is uniformly circular, all doors facing the center, and the female owners observe the same order that prevails in the village. These huts are made exclusively by the women; even men who camp beyond the settlement without their families never erect such structures (pl. 7, *a*).

The question now arises: Did the Timbira originally have only such beehive huts or did they have larger, substantial dwellings in their fixed villages? Several facts support the latter alternative. The beehive huts cannot accommodate either the regular platform beds or the elevated compartments of the young girls, or an extended family. Further, it would be impossible to shelter the boys in a single house on the east or west side during the first stage of initiation, for even in 1930 there were twice sixteen novices among the Rąmkõ′kamekra, and the number was doubtless larger in former times. It would be equally impossible to put up a special cell in a beehive hut for one or more boys at the terminal phase of initiation. Moreover, a beehive hut could not serve as the meeting place of any of the festive societies, with their membership ranging from 15 to 30; and to an even greater extent does the vų′tę′ institution (p. 92) require large houses, for in 1933 the number of men who assembled was 54 and 57, respectively. I am convinced that if all these cere-

[28] Nimuendajú and Lowie, 408.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

monials had formerly been held outdoors or in specially erected structures, the usage would have survived in at least the majority of the cases. On the other hand, the localization of the ceremonies in definite houses of the village circumference indicates that they have taken place there since ancient times. However, it is impossible to determine at present what form these houses originally had. Nowadays the Indians assert that they always had the same shape as today, which is certainly contrary to fact.

Besides the rectangular gable-roofed and the beehive types, the Eastern Timbira employ a number of simpler types of shelter. There are oblique wind screens of palm fronds set against a pole placed horizontally in the branches of two neighboring trees or resting on forked posts. Instead the leaves may be set into the ground in a semicircle, yielding a semiconical wind screen, such as Snethlage observed and as I have several times seen as the first shelter on a house site within a newly laid out village. Rectangular frames resting horizontally at a man's height on forked posts and covered with a few transverse poles and fronds are seen only at festivals on the open steppe; they share the name of the windscreen, ikrépo. Neobrazilians, too, always put them up beside their houses during a celebration. They are sunshades which afford no protection from rain.

Single travelers obliged to spend the night outdoors or surprised by a storm en route cover the top of a bush with branches and palm fronds for a shelter. Or they fasten together the fronds of two appropriately distant paty palm shrubs without cutting them off and thus form a sort of sentry box. During prolonged ceremonies in the plaza the spectators often make mats into sunshades by leaning them against any prop planted into the ground, such as a bow or sword club, or against their own backs.

Finally, at the east end of the Serra do Noquem, eighteen kilometers south of the Krahõ′ village of Pedra Branca, I saw a cave which these Indians occasionally used as a shelter and there were fireplaces at the entrance.

Dress and Adornment

Formerly both sexes in all Timbira groups were completely unclothed. For the most part the men still go naked. In such villages as Ponto, through which Neobrazilians frequently pass, the Indians generally keep at hand a piece of cloth the size of a handkerchief, which they thrust in front of their girdles when obliged to meet civilized folk to whom they consider this concession necessary. With the visitor's departure, however, the cloth is promptly removed, twisted together and tied round the forehead, the upper arm, the handle of a club, or the end of a bow.

Pụkôbye girls still go stark naked until puberty. In other tribes the majority when about six years old, though some not before the tenth year, begin to cover the hips with a piece of cloth extending approximately to the knees and knotted or turned down at the left hip (pl. 3, *b*). Among the Krahõ′ some wear only a small strip like the men's. Except at dances, Rąmkõ′kamekra women or young girls rarely appear without this garment nowadays, but when by themselves they frequently remove it. The men inveigh against this offensive but growing feminine custom of constantly wearing a loincloth. During one dance I saw the chiefs summon a man and order him to remove the loincloths of all women performers, who offered not the least resistance.

Such appurtenances of civilization as trousers, shirts, and skirts appear most frequently among the Kre'pụ′mkateye and the Timbira of Araparytiua.

At present a number of Rąmkõ′kamekra men constantly wear a leather belt with

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

a metal lock. Attached to it in the back is something like a miniature leather cartridge case of almost cubical form which serves to dispose of their smoking outfit and other trifles; and if anyone owns a bush-knife, that too hangs from his belt. All the young men now covet such a belt, regarding the lidded shoulder bag plaited of burity bast (itself a loan from the Neobrazilians) as appropriate only for their elders. The use of this baldric does not antedate 1901, when forty warriors marched as allies of the Brazilian soldiers against the insurgent Guajajára. It is never worn in ceremonies.

Some men, but no women or children, wear sandals of cow leather, finding them very serviceable on their travels through the sun-baked sand, which is painful even for the Indians. This footgear is a quite recent loan from the Neobrazilians—in contrast to the aboriginal bast-cord sandals of the Akwẽ-Šerénte.

At about thirteen or fourteen the girls receive a girdle (mepre) composed of some thirty tucum threads barely a millimeter in thickness which have been very carefully and evenly twisted on the thigh; they are held together in one spot by wrapping (pl. 10, *b*). The wearer steps into the girdle, with the wrapping in front. Ordinarily a mother gives this girdle to a daughter who has completed her term as auxiliary of some men's organization; and the young woman wears it until her first pregnancy, some resuming it subsequently on festive occasions. At present the Rąmkõ'kamekra girls mostly restrict its use to ceremonial times and dancing. On such occasions they wear only this garment, but generally, though not always, one or more urucú leaves are thrust into it to cover the genitalia (pl. 3, *a*). When not in use this girdle usually rests coiled round the neck of a gourd bottle containing the urucú seeds for body painting; this, with other toilet articles, is generally hung from one of the posts of the girl's elevated bed. Among the Põrekamekra, Pohl saw such girdles and interpreted them as a badge of virginity,[33] which does not hold for the Rąmkõ'kamekra, at least today. Formerly, to be sure, the girls of this tribe are said to have been married only after having received the girdle. A single girdle cord with frontal leaf, such as Pohl observed among the Põrekamekra, is rare among our Canella.

When visiting Barra do Corda the men generally wear trousers, more rarely nothing but a kilt. The women who have no complete dress cover themselves with a loincloth and a cover for the upper part of the body. As Snethlage, too, noted, they assume this costume only just before reaching the first houses of the town and immediately take it off on their departure.

As a matter of fact, these Indians consider clothing not merely inconvenient, but positively indecent, as illustrated by an experience in 1930. Encouraged by my presence, some twenty Guajajára of both sexes decided to visit their old enemies in Ponto. Precisely at the time when the councilors and I were assembled in the plaza at sunset the guests arrived, headed by their chief, José Rosa, who asked for me and was directed toward the plaza. Clad in boots, striped trousers, a shirt no longer white, a rather shabby black coat, and a little straw hat, he stepped among us naked, club-carrying savages and seated himself gingerly on a mat I pushed toward him. Then, however, he delivered a good speech: Assuming our permission, he had come to attend our festival (the second phase of initiation) in order that his and our tribe might henceforth live in peace and amity; the old hostilities were futile, etc. The assemblage listened in amiable mood, gave its consent, and sent him to a chief's dwelling, where he and his attendants received lodgement. Then we adjourned, each going home. At the door of her maternal home Kentapí, then

[33] Pohl, Reise, 2:194.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SQ8 Timbira SO8

about fifteen, was waiting for me, and her first words were: "Imagine that Guajajára not feeling ashamed to go to the plaza in *that* style!" In other words, it was the clothed Guajajára who should have been abashed before us naked men, not vice versa.

The Rąmkô'kamekra at first treated their visitors as boon companions. How to behave toward the slender, little and bashful women guests was a question, but the men were at once taken into the festive clubs and cordially invited to take part in all ceremonies, but without their trousers and loincloths. The hosts repeatedly urged their visitors to go naked, but the Guajajára always sheepishly evaded. The Canella took their guests bathing, in the expectation that then at last they would shed their clothes, but the Guajajára remained on dry land, merely watching from the bank. That was going too far, so the Canella secretly began mocking the visitors and gradually it dawned upon them that the strangers did not fit into their festive company and had to be got rid of before the beginning of the grand closing ceremony. Forthwith the councilors decided to cut off their provisions and simultaneously to tell them untruthfully that the ceremony would not start before ten days. Sure enough, José Rosa[1] appeared in the plaza three days later, announcing that he was very sorry not to be able to wait, that he had to look after his crops, and would leave the following morning, which he did, liberally supplied by his hosts with victuals for the journey.

All other bands worn around the forehead (pls. 9, *a–g*; 10 *a*), neck, chest, and waist (pl. 11, *a*, *b*), upper arm, wrists (pl. 11, *c*, *d*; cf. pl. 13, *b*), knees and ankles are not in constant use, but associated with ceremonial decoration, though a few young men like to appear with at least part of these paraphernalia on everyday occasions (pl. 3, *c*, *d*). No Canella dreams of putting on his knee bands (reddened with urucú like all decorative articles) with any great regularity from childhood on in order to affect the musculature of his legs. Such procedure would merely result in a still greater protrusion of the calves comparable to its effects among the ancient Island Caribs with their rigid bands; it certainly would not give to the lower leg "the desired slenderness" as Martius was told—presumably only to rationalize the name Canellas finas (p. 29).[2]

Hair.—Except for the Western Gaviões and the tribes which, like the Gurupy groups and the Kre'pų'mkateye, have adopted the Neobrasilian style, all Eastern Timbira of both sexes and all ages dress their hair in identical fashion. Irrespective of mourners and people otherwise in seclusion, there were only two old people in Ponto who failed to cut their hair.

The hair is cut rather high on the forehead, close, and in a horizontal line. At the temples of the upraised head the trimmer continues to cut on both sides in an accurately horizontal line but so as to leave a distance of about 4 cm. between the ends of the lines cut, this space being called krãyimôk. The hair is cut in a width of about one centimeter. Where the two hair furrows meet the forehead on either side, the lower corners are rounded off somewhat by removal of hair. Unless smoothed with oil, the coarse, stiff Indian hair then rises more or less shaggy above the furrows, simulating at a distance a cap. The hair about the temples is cut off at the level of the auditory meatus, so that it forms a sort of ear muff (yiré). The occipital hair (krąkatút) is allowed to grow long, but its length greatly varies with individuals, sometimes descending almost to the waist.

Strangely enough, neither Pohl nor Snethlage has noted the occipital gap in the hair furrow that distinguishes Eastern from Western (=Apinayé) Timbira style.[3]

[2] Spix and Martius, 2:822. [3] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.

1[i.e. the chief of the Guajajára --- Analyst.]

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

302 Further, it is necessary to correct some errors that have crept into the literature
114 concerning Timbira hairdressing. Notwithstanding assertions by Kissenberth and
765 Snethlage,[300] who oddly agree on this, the Canella never cut their hair in mourning; the exact contrary holds, as demonstrated in plate 7, *b*. Moreover, as proved by dozens of my pictures, women and children dress the hair in exactly the same fashion as the men; Snethlage thus errs in declaring that they merely comb their hair away from the face or cut it above the forehead. Oil paintings by the Dutch artist Eckhout which are in the National Museum of Copenhagen suggest that the Otahukayana of Rio Grande do Norte also wore the hair furrow in the seventeenth century. (See pl. 21.) The occipital hair of the Timbira is never braided into a pigtail; [301] a little grass fanlike ornament (hivakúi) (pl. 20, *b*) merely serves to ligature the bunch of occipital hair. A person with very long hair may gather it together, lay the tip up on the back of the head, and secure it there with string. However, this custom—like the use of the hivakúi—is peculiar to men about to engage in a particularly difficult undertaking—formerly, above all when going to battle; and as soon as anyone is seen indulging in the practice he is immediately questioned by everybody as to his plans.

302 No man's hair is cut by another. The task devolves primarily on his mother, his
462 sisters, female cousins and nieces; his wife may tend to the matter provided it is
177 not a ceremonial cut at the close of a period of mourning or seclusion. Because of this rule men who have been away for a long time have the furrow completely obliterated by the new growth of hair. On their begging trips, however, they usually fall into the hands of some civilized barber who spoils their coiffure for the period of several months.

302 No attention is paid to the clipped hair, which they either allow to lie about or throw on the garbage, for the Eastern Timbira and the Apinayé do not share the widespread Indian belief that fragments severed from the body can be used in sorcery. On the other hand, the Rąmkõ'kamekra believe that a person who has secured [832] another's hair from the temples thereby is certain of being loved by him or her, for which reason such hair is sometimes clipped clandestinely. The hair cut from women's occiputs at certain festivals is united in a long bundle and hung on a tree in front of the village, whence I was able to carry it off at will. Several times I received the present of a neck-and-forehead ornament consisting of hair tufts mounted brushlike in feather quills or small bamboo tubes.

[804] The Canella have double combs (koiké) composed of little rods (pl. 20, *a*), but
303 today they serve only ceremonial purposes; a norm based on the length of the rods
177 is used in the manufacturing. For practical purposes these combs have been super-
321 seded by those of European and Neobrazilian make, but several men, for example, chief Ropką', are themselves able to produce such modern combs out of horn, and these prove far more durable than the purchased articles, which very soon lose their tines in the thick Indian hair.

302 The people pay a fair amount of attention to their hair. They wash it while bath-
303 ing by rubbing it between the palms of their hands, and oil it with the oleaginous juice of chewed babassu seeds, which is spat into their hands and then rubbed on the hair. The very greasy beetle larvae that live within the seeds are crushed between the palms and then also used for oiling the hair. Head lice (ikó) occur, especially among children, but have long ceased to be general. I am positive that a consider-
562 able number of adults lack them. Anyone becoming aware of lice has his wife or some kinswoman look for them; this person puts them on the palm of her hands

[300] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 48. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 148.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SCS Timbira SCS

304 may cause the loop of skin to tear, henceforth preventing the wearing of ear ornaments since they are never used singly. Pąnhí, once taking over a huge burity log from another racer's shoulders while dashing past, suffered this misfortune. He did not notice anything before passing on the log, when the blood was dripping on his shoulder. I have never heard of the Canella healing the torn ear after the fashion of the Apinayé.[300]

301 The ordinary plugs are disks of some light (weight) wood, an inch in thickness
531 and dyed red only on the edge. For a ceremony a thick layer of white clay is put on the face of the earplug, which is mostly decorated with black and red designs. There are ringlike plugs of thick bamboo and also wooden disks with round central holes that are sometimes sufficiently large to suggest rings; at times a corded tassel, dyed red, is inserted. The youth in plate 4, c has stuck a bit of tobacco twist into the orifice of his plug, not for magical purposes, but simply because the ceremonial costume precludes the use of a pouch for storage. In other plugs the holes have the form of a Greek or Maltese cross. Very rare are heavy plugs of hardened white clay with violet marble-like veins; I have seen them only from the Rąmkõ'kamekra, the material being apparently restricted to the Serra do Alpercatas in their territory. (Pl. 13, a.)

Among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye I have seen plugs with four little mother-of-pearl disks cemented into the anterior surface. The Rąmkõ'kamekra have such inserts of mirror glass, but only rarely.

From Pụkóbye I obtained a pair of paca incisors said to be insets for earplugs. I have never seen such in use among the Eastern Timbira, but observed them at Apinayé initiations. The ear rosettes of the Karayá also bear this ornamentation.[301]

304 *Labrets; incisors.*—Except for the Western Gaviões the lower lip is no longer
171 perforated by any Eastern Timbira tribe. The Rąmkõ'kamekra told me that until not very long ago the Eastern Gaviões (Pụkóbye) also had perforated lips. In a mixed company of Krahõ' and Apą'nyekra Martius saw the older people wearing labrets in the form of shining cylinders of yellow rosin or alabaster; they were from 1½ to 3 inches in length and could be easily extracted.[302] Since Pohl, who in the same year saw numerous Krahõ', noted only ears perforated,[303] the labret wearers must have been Apą'nyekra, though their present descendants know nothing of such decoration. For the Põrekamekra Pohl explicitly denies perforation of the lip.[304]

Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Apą'nyekra, and Krahõ' the upper incisors of children of both sexes are very often tapped into pointed form with a knife and a little mallet. The practice is rare among the other Eastern Timbira.

304 The reverse holds for tattooing, which is very rare among the former, but some-
177 what more frequent among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye. Doubtless borrowed from the Neobrazilians, the decoration as a rule consists merely of a few plain lines or copies of letters on the forearm; it is executed with iron needles and genipa.

386 *Pigments.*—The Canella have five pigments: 1, black, from rubber latex with
828 powdered charcoal; 2, red, from urucú seeds; 3, yellow, from the juice of the urucú
517 root; 4, bluish black, from the juice of the genipa fruit; 5, white clay. Of these, the first three are applied both to the body and to objects; the fourth serves only to decorate the body; the fifth, with few exceptions, only for objects.

Red urucú, the most common, at once attracts every visitor's notice by its omni-

[300] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 42.
[301] Krause, In den Wildnissen Brasiliens, 224.
[302] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:319.
[303] Pohl, Reise, 2:211.
[304] *Ibid.*, 2:191.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

302 237 The upper margin of the decorated surface is marked by an obtuse angle between the shoulders, the apex lying below their level. From this boundary the decorator glues the down on the body so that it extends halfway down the forearm and lower part of the leg, leaving the genitalia free. The downless parts of the body, excepting usually the face, are reddened with urucú.

The tamhą'k do not wear the continuous down covering of others, but have, both in front and in back, two stripes the width of a hand, one on each side of the body. Each stripe extends from the clavicle or shoulder blade down to the middle of the lower leg. A somewhat narrower stripe of down is glued on the front and the back of each arm. At all joints the stripes are interrupted.

314 [137] 302 For gluing the down the Indians use the almecega rosin of *Hedwigia balsamifera*, which has a very agreeable odor. This is the only pleasant feature in the procedure, which involves the chewing of babassu seeds and spitting the oily juice on the rosin previously smeared over the palms of the hands. Rubbing the palms together produces a somewhat tough, yellow ointment, which is clapped on the subject's skin, and rubbed into it. Then another operator immediately dabs the falcon down on top. So long as the decoration is fresh the wearer looks rather attractive in his snow-white raiment of down. But soon after, especially after bathing, the covering grows very unsightly; however, its vestiges persist for over a week. Hairs, which it is true are almost lacking on the Indian skin, have a disagreeable way of adhering to one another because of the rosin, and wherever a man sits or lies down he gets stuck. I have a veritable horror of this procedure, but as a member of the tamhą'k organization am obliged to submit to it whenever I return to the tribe after a prolonged absence.

302 314 By scraping of the young leafstalks of the paty palm (*Orcus* sp.) one obtains a light pinkish-yellow wool that is stored and applied like falcon down. But while the Apinayé uniformly employ this material in place of falcon down, which is not customary among them, the Rąmkõ'kamekra restrict its use to members of the Duck society.

301 237 177 *Miscellaneous.*—Finger rings (hukrąčēčą) are constantly worn by both sexes. Originally they were black and inconspicuous, being made of the caudal skin of the chameleon (*Iguana tuberculata*) and the teyú (*Tupinambis teguixin*). Today men and women crave silver and brass rings of European make with glass stones. Whenever possible they overload themselves with these ornaments to an unesthetic degree, or suspend them from the necklace, this consisting nowadays mostly of glass beads and some pendant, which occasionally both sexes wear from infancy to old age. However, even today the seeds of a grass (*Scleria* sp.) are fashioned into beads to be strung. In order to be able to perforate them it is necessary to grind them to a point on a whetstone at one spot. This is effected with the aid of a fragment of *Lagenaria* bowl with a little opening just large enough to have the curvature of the *Scleria* seed project somewhat when it is put on top. The worker seizes the slightly bent bowl, presses the seed on top of the hole with the tip of the index finger, and grinds off the projecting curvature.

[137]

[751] Infants often also wear wrist and ankle cords with pendent bits of all sorts of wood and roots or little bones and seeds, to which medicinal virtues are ascribed. Wristbands (mepače) of babassu grass are worn by girls and young men; only the men wear bands of the same material on the upper arm and forehead, as well as knee bands of either cotton or babassu grass (pls. 3, *c*, *d*; 11, *c*, *d*).

1: Nimuendajú S-S (1929-1936) 1946 SCS Timbira SCS
Ge 515

T 356 412

twigs tied together. Garbage is accumulated on the firefan or an old mat and carried to the border of the steppe, to the rear of the house. However, there are women who are not particular about a little dirt more or less, and who will leave the rinds of fruits and gnawed bones lying about all day long.

T 356 751

The domestic vermin include crickets, cockroaches, small ants, and jiggers. The first two are simply put up with. As for ant nests, the Indians try to destroy them with hot water; and as soon as they become aware of jiggers, they periodically pour water on the floor, which they stamp on till it grows firm. Those which have penetrated the skin are removed with a bone needle—for which at present an iron one may be substituted.

T 264 515

All utensils are rather dirty, for it never occurs to them to clean objects before storage. The clothing that is obligatory on visits to Barra do Corda is subsequently stowed away for one's own or another's future use without attention to the accumulated dirt and perspiration. Dishes are never washed after use, though this is done before again using them. Storage bags and sleeping mats are often filthy, though the latter are washed when the dirt grows too offensive.

T 514

The Indians go to stool in the steppe or in the mallow bushes to the rear of their houses, at an adequate distance. They clean themselves with kerneled maize cobs or with two little sticks broken off on the way. The feces of infants in the house or on the space before it are at once strewn with sand and removed.

T [828]

The Canella are very sensitive as to evil smells, though they do not always perceive the same things as stench as civilised people. As noted, they regard as pleasant the odor of urucú, from which Neobrazilians recoil, and they are strangely indifferent to the odor of the skunk (*Mephitis suffocans*), which to my nostrils is the most horrible to be found in the Timbira country. However, excrements and putrefying matter are intolerable to them and are removed posthaste.

T 827 516

Breaking wind is considered indecorous indoors, but rather a pleasure on the steppe or in the plaza among the younger generation. Indeed, young girls sometimes vie with one another in this respect and try to enhance the effect by hitting their own buttocks with their clenched fists. However, this happens only among themselves, never in the presence of older people.

G T 177 241 114

Farming

It is erroneous to picture the Gê generically as hunters and gatherers, with at best an occasional group adopting a little cultivation under Tupí influence.[109] Actually, not a single Akwẽ or Timbira-Kayapó tribe failed to farm; and as to the latter, at least, I am convinced that they learnt nothing from the Tupí about agriculture. Old travelers sometimes decree that such and such a tribe lived "only by hunting" or even "by robbery only." Thus, Saint-Adolphe alleges that the Apinayé had grown accustomed to a vegetable diet only through the plantations made by the military colony of São João de Araguaya (founded in 1797). He overlooked the passage in which Villa Real—four years prior to the establishment of that colony—urged a treaty of peace with the Apinayé on the ground of their cultivating manioc on a large scale.[110]

T 241 177 114

Following Ribeiro and Pohl, Snethlage states that the Timbira when first in contact with civilization already practiced a well-defined system of tillage and rightly surmises that the four species listed by Ribeiro do not exhaust the number of their cropa. At present the Rąmkõ'kamekra plant the following species, which shall be

[109] For a typical expression of this view see Schmidt, Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Südamerika, 1922.

[110] Viagem, 409.

1: Nimuendajú 5-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SCS Timbira SCS

Ge SL5

divided (according to their own account) into those anciently known and those adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians.

Aboriginally known:

Maize, põhĩ' (*Zea mays*)
Sweet potato, yąt (*Batatas edulis*)
Yam, krĩrõ' (*Dioscorea* sp.)
Manioc, kwųr (*Manihot utilissima*)
Sweet manioc, kwųr-kahę'k (*Manihot aipi*)
Horse bean, pąakrjõ' (*Phaseolus* sp.)
Arrowroot, kurũare (*Maranta* sp.)
Gourd, kõhõukahę'k (*Cucurbita* sp.)
Ground nut, kahę' (*Arachis* sp.)
[European name lacking], kupá (*Cissus* sp.)
Cotton, kahę'k (*Gossypium* sp.)
Bottle gourd, kõkõn (*Lagenaria* sp.)
Cuyeté, hõ'tsé (*Crescentia* sp.)
Cuya de rama, ——— (*Cucurbita* sp.)
Urucú, pų (*Bixa orellana*)

Adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians:

Rice	Beans	Pineapple
Watermelon	Orange	Tobacco
Banana	Lemon	Tinguy (fish poison)
Sugar-cane	Mango	
Cayenne pepper	Papaya	

The only plant-origin myth relates to maize and coincides with the Apinayé equivalent.[138] It combines two principal motives—the world tree and the star wife. The former occurs among Carib peoples of Guiana, having been recorded by Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipáng, by Brett among the Akawoí, by Im Thurn and Roth for the Carib proper, while Nordenskiöld reports it from the Arawakan Čáne of the northern Chaco. The other motive seems to be derived from the Šerénte, who far more logically connect it not with the origin of maize, but with a visit to the sky.

Nordenskiöld derives Gê yąt (sweet potato) from Tupí yetj'k, which is supposed to point to a transmission of the species from the Tupí. I consider this highly improbable, for the Northwestern Gê would never have lopped off an accented syllable, but would presumably have transmuted the hypothetical loan-word into yetí (cf. below as to the assimilation of Tupí tapití). Further, there is a striking fact: Tupí agriculture stresses maize and manioc, the Northwestern and Central Gê emphasize sweet potatoes and yams, which virtually furnish their daily bread but play a more modest role among the Tupí.

In my description of Apinayé tillage I noted that the Northwestern and Central Gê probably did not acquire manioc from either the Tupí or the Karayá, whose methods of employment and preparation are totally distinct.[139] Against such borrowing may further be cited the term kwųr, uniformly distributed as it is over the entire Northwestern branch, from the Suyá to the remotest Timbira tribes. From Ribeiro's denial of the Krahõ' Indians' familiarity with *the preparation of flour*—"farinha de pau," that is, flour from unfermented manioc[140]—it does not by any means follow, as Snethlage assumes,[141] that they lacked manioc altogether. For they may very well have used it as they do today, in the form of pies baked in earth ovens. In recent times the Eastern Timbira have adopted the preparation of flour together with the basketry press, not from the Tupí-Guajajára, but from Neobrazilians. This is indicated by their designating this utensil not by the Guajajára term tipiti, but by its disfigured Neobrazilian form tapití, assimilated to Timbira phonology as tapti. They further give to the roasting pan its Portuguese name, forno.

The species of arrowroot planted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra differs from the Neobrazilian form.

[138] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 165–167.
[139] *Ibid.*, 88.
[140] Memoria, § 73.
[141] Nordestbras. Ind., 162.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SCS Timbira SCS
Ge SLS

Notwithstanding Ribeiro's explicit assertion that the Krahô' of 1816 did not know how to raise or treat cotton, it seems to me to have been native to all Northwestern and Central Gê before the advent of civilization. In the first place, cotton is employed in a variety of ways—in wholly aboriginal forms of industry as well as in ceremonial, notably in the boys' initiation festival. A second argument is the technique of plaiting cotton carrying slings for children, though it must be admitted that according to Ribeiro[166] their material was burity bast. Third, there is the form of the spindle, deviating from the neighboring Neobrazilian and Guajajára parallels (pl. 18, *a*); finally, all the Northwestern tribes share the same word for cotton.

Ethnographically, however, the kupá is the most important of Timbira cultivated species. This creeper (*Cissus* sp.) has starchy tendrils, which attain the thickness of an inch and are baked in earth ovens. It does not occur wild; is restricted, so far as my information goes, to the Eastern and Western Timbira and the Šerénte, all of them Gê tribes; and is pronouncedly xerophil. Accordingly, it is probably a very old cultivated species peculiar to these tribes, which could not have borrowed it from either Neobrazilians or any of their present Indian neighbors.

As for tobacco, my corresponding comment on it among the Apinayé also holds for the Eastern Timbira. Apparently they were *acquainted* with it before the coming of civilization, but even nowadays they do not plant it, the timid attempts of this or that Rąmkõ'kamekra having invariably failed to yield satisfactory results. I did not observe a single case of its magical or ceremonial use among these people. Both sexes, however, are passionate smokers and constantly beg for tobacco. They smoke cigarettes of maize husks or tanary bast; a few also use little clay pipe bowls bent at an angle, with bamboo stems (kačím; Portuguese, caximbo). The chief Kukrãčą' manufactures very pretty and neatly finished specimens, partly for sale to Neobrazilians, among whom the same form is in vogue.

Urucú and pepper shrubs, as well as sporadic *Crescentia*, mango, lemon or orange trees, are planted beside or behind dwellings, the young plants being guarded against roving pigs and fowls by little fences of vertically set sticks or by circumscribed quadrangles made of former racing logs.

The true plantations (pl. 5, *a*) are situated in the narrow *galeria* forests by the brooks. Since annually new clearings are necessary, the distance of the plots from the village steadily increases. When the transportation of the crops becomes altogether too cumbersome, the Indians are obliged to move their village near the new plots. Thus, the Rąmkõ'kamekra migrate with fair regularity about every ten years from the Ribeirão Santo Estevão to the Ribeirão dos Bois. While they are stationed by one of the two creeks for from ten to twenty years, the timber of the other grows again sufficiently to permit the creation of new plots.

Each individual family has its plantation, owned by the woman. No single man owns a plot, but many an unmarried woman claims one and gets her kinsmen to make the requisite clearings, this being an exclusively masculine task. For the last hundred years only iron axes have been in use, different brands being very well distinguished by the natives, who rightly prefer the North American "Collins" blades. No one nowadays is able to haft such stone blades as are still occasionally found. The method of felling timber with iron tools coincides with Neobrazilian practice. Though not every Indian has a good ax suitable for the purpose, he may borrow a relative's.

The several plots belonging to the married woman of an extended family usually, but not always, adjoin one another. At times one individual family may simul-

[166] Memoria, § 12.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

taneously own plots in two separate sites. Boundaries between the plantations of different owners are generally marked by rows of maize plants. The size of a plot depends on the tree-feller's industry. One hectare (not quite two and a half acres) is probably the minimum for a single family, many owning double that area, but estimates are difficult because the form is never regular. Pohl sets the diameter of a Põrekamekra extended family's farm at one hundred fathoms—a somewhat smaller estimate. The yield naturally hinges by no means exclusively on the extent of the clearing and the number of plants, but very largely on the care bestowed on them. In this respect the Eastern Timbira are often incredibly negligent. To be sure, many families violently exert themselves in felling timber and planting their crops, so that they could well harvest far more than the needs of subsistence. But after this initial effort they pay little attention, so that the farm goes to rack and ruin. There is no such personal sentimental bond between cultivated plants and their owner as I discovered among the Apinayé.[108]

Both sexes jointly plant, weeding is almost wholly a feminine job, harvesting exclusively so. No man will ever haul a carrying-basket with fruits; at most he may

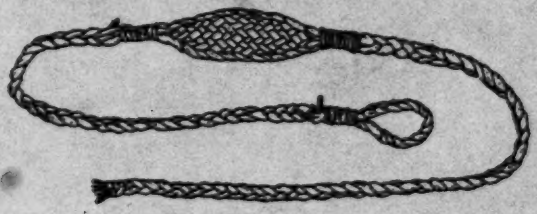


Fig. 4. Sling. ⅓ nat. size.

carry a few maize cobs or tubers in his hands. At the time of maturation swarms of dwarf parrots attack the plantations, which are mostly guarded by the bigger boys, armed with slings (fig. 4) or, more rarely, with pellet bows (pl. 15, *a*) borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

Except where the plots of the steppe Timbira adjoin impenetrable riparian forests they are protected by coarse, heavy fences made of logs resting on forked supports. These enclosures are to shut out not, as Snethlage supposed, game animals, but rather the cattle of neighboring ranchers, the worst plague that afflicts their fields. But notwithstanding these fences the beasts, particularly if of the zebu breed, often break down the barrier and will within a few hours destroy the whole crop. Fazendeiros have more than once deliberately driven their herds into the Indians' plantations, especially if they were "rightful owners" of Indian lands, in order to compel the natives to abandon the site. Only about ten years ago this was the fate of the Mãkamekra horde of the Krahõ' and their plantations at the sources of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño. If the Indians then shoot down one of these pests and consume it by way of indemnifying themselves for the loss of their farm, the stockmen wax highly indignant over such "cattle lifting."

Of the wild animals harmful to the crops the dwarf parrots rank as the worst. No sooner has the sun risen than they swarm from their nocturnal resting places in the riparian trees and swiftly pounce upon the crops, screaming aloud. Thus they cause considerable havoc, not so much by what they consume as by the quantities of scattered and spoiled fruit. This applies, above all, to the ripening maize

[108] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 90.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1938) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

and rice. An Indian who takes no precautions against these birds is sure to lose his entire yield, irrespective of the amount planted. The only antidote is to have a guardian stationed in the plots throughout the daytime during the season so that he may at once repel the intruders. This is achieved by shouts or a variety of missiles—stones, palm nuts, and clay balls hurled with the hand, with slings (hũkaipẽ'rča), or with a pellet bow.

Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra and Krahõ' I have seen boys setting snares for parrots. To a hoop about 20 cm. in diameter and spanned by a network of cords they attach a dozen nooses of tucum fiber (Rąmkõ'kamekra) or, among the Krahõ', of horsehair. After placing some rice ears or similar lures below these snares, they tie the hoop in horizontal position to a wooden fork, which in turn is fastened to the top of as long a bamboo pole as possible. The entire contraption, which is visible from a considerable distance, is erected in the plantation, and as soon as the parrots pounce upon the rice ears their feet are caught in the nooses (pl. 17, *a*, *b*).

White neighbors are wont to mock at Rąmkõ'kamekra farmers, alleging that they raise nothing or at least nothing worth while and that they subsist by theft and begging. Few take the trouble even to look at the Indian plantations. Yet toward the close of 1930 these scoffers were obliged willy-nilly to acknowledge publicly that the Indians had planted considerable crops. At that time part of

Fig. 5. Digging stick. 1/10 nat. size.

Maranhão suffered from a famine, for the manioc crop had failed over a wide area so that the generally indispensable flour made from this plant was lacking. In Barra do Corda the scarcity forced the local officials to ration the sale of what little was to be had. At the peak of this plight the Rąmkõ'kamekra suddenly appeared with several horseloads of manioc flour and saved the townsmen since by an odd chance they alone had saved their yield. In the meantime, not only the half-starved Guajajára from beyond the Rio Corda had billeted themselves on the residents of Ponto, but even the Neobrazilians came to offer the Rąmkõ'kamekra their labor in return for manioc. When I reached Barra do Corda in 1931 and inquired in a shop whether good flour was to be had, the owner answered, "Very good flour, indeed; it's from the aldea Ponto!" Yet in this town many "whites" had declared categorically that they would never eat anything prepared by "these nauseating beasts" (*esses bichos nojentos*). Many Indians are deterred from ampler production of manioc flour for sale only by the lack of means of transport, for hauling a flour sack on one's back over a distance of seventy-eight kilometers is something of a hardship even for a Timbira educated as a log racer.

Rąmkõ'kamekra economic life was most significantly affected during the last twenty years by the Indians' turning to intensive preparation of manioc flour and to rice cultivation. At present these originally alien articles of food are about to gain ascendancy both in the kitchen and, next to basketwork, in trade. Agriculturally the Rąmkõ'kamekra have advanced farther since their contact with civilization than the Guajajára, whose aboriginal farming was anciently far more intensive, but whose productivity has since rather diminished than grown.

Even today the Indians in part use their aboriginal planting stick, which is invariably of very hard wood, either pau roxo or pau candeia, 75–100 cm. in length, round and flattened spade-fashion at the butt (fig. 5). Sometimes this flattened

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

241 412 section is clearly set off from the round part. The Eastern Timbira term for this implement, pĩ̀wapo, means "sharp, flat wood." In probing for tubers, especially for sweet potatoes, these farmers use a special pointed stick some 40 cm. in length, which is often derived from the end of a worn-out bow. These two are the only native agricultural implements that persist in contemporary use in Ponto.

242 Except for rice and bitter manioc, plants of one species rarely occupy one continuous major strip, the general practice being to dispose them in patches here and there or mixed with other crops.

243 177 Among Timbira cultivated plants, maize holds the place of honor, being the only one whose origin is explained by a myth. Though Ribeiro mentions only two indigenous varieties,[xx] the Rąmkõ'kamekra raise four kinds of small-kerneled maize which they derive from the legendary Star maiden, Kačẽkwẹ'i, viz. 1, põhĩpẽ́y, true or good maize, with small, white, and very soft kernels; 2, põhĩyaká, white maize, somewhat larger, but otherwise similar; 3, põhĩkreakáre, with small blue kernels; and 4, to'rómre, with black kernels of medium size. The large-kerneled varieties, põhĩti, are additions from the Neobrazilians.

243 221 805 The appearance of the Pleiades (krot) after sunset on the western horizon is a harbinger of the rainy season and indicates the need for starting a clearing in order to plant at the first rainfall. This ushers in the meipimrą'k period (p. 84), roughly coterminous with the rainy season since it ends with the commencement of the maize harvest.

243 624 796 *Horticultural rites.*—A man named Võkrãkẹ', whose maternal home is on the east side of the village circle, is charged with ceremonially opening the planting as well as the harvesting of maize. On the former occasion there figures a small gourd bowl whose edge is painted with urucú and which is filled with maize kernels. Võkrãkẹ' takes this container to the plaza and sets it on the ground, where people dance around it. Then he takes the bowl to his wife's plot and plants the maize, whereupon others are free to follow his example. After this functionary's death his office descends to the matrilineal kinsman to whom he has transferred his name.

243 782 796 When the maize stands about 1 m. high, another ceremony is held in order to induce the Moon, Pụduvrį, to ward off noxious animal parasites from the plants. Clapping together their hands and singing "Pụduvrįre kayẽ'yẽ' rivahá vaká mopó tu krére," all the villagers of both sexes then slowly dance in the plaza on a full-moon night, moving from the north southward under the leadership of a precentor wielding his rattle. In the rainy season they fear a lunar eclipse even far more than during the dry period, for they think it would destroy the crops. The relevant ceremonies will be described later.

776 782 In case of drought, however, not the Moon, but the Sun, Pụt, is addressed. Three old men then march round the boulevard, singing "kedeti,/imąpẽ́y/vayakrį' (Grandfather [=sun],/be good to me and/gladden me [by rain])."

796 624 243 No one—not even the woman owning the plot—is free to eat of the crop until the councilors have tasted of it and declared it mature. The maize harvest is opened by the same man, Võkrãkẹ', who inaugurated the planting season. First, a hunting party leaves to secure meat for the village. When they return with game, Võkrãkẹ' asks his wife to fetch from the plots a carrying basket full of maize ears, which are husked and cooked into meat pies to be served to the councilors in the plaza. Of the husks Võkrãkẹ' makes some twenty shuttlecocks, which his son Rąrą'k takes to the plaza and throws, one by one, into the circle of players. These throw each ball toward one another with the palm of the hand as long as possible without per-

[xx] Memoria, § 11.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

Sometimes a tamhą'k (p. 98) is made to assume the duty of officially tasting sweet potatoes and gourds prior to the harvest. Thus, the Indians hope to improve their crops at the eleventh hour because the tamhą'k, especially if young and vigorous, are credited with the magical power of improving and increasing the yield. The member chosen is then decorated with the falcon down appropriate to his organization.

Storage.—According to Ribeiro the Eastern Timbira cached their food supplies from year to year in special storehouses: "... e entre tanto que cresce e sazona a plantação comem elles a coberto das invernadas os generos que do anno passado ficam reservados em paioes particulares, que cada familia guardou escondidamente para si."[169] Personally I have never seen anything deserving of the designation paiol (storage room)—except for the modern, closed attics. Tubers—sweet potatoes, yams, bitter and sweet manioc, as well as arrowroot—are left in the ground, where they keep best. Thence the Indians take just enough to supply several days' need. Gourds and beans are rarely kept for a longer period; ground nuts are stowed away in little baskets and bags of burity bast. Maize, too, is usually left in the plantation as long as possible and brought home according to demand. Finally, the residue is carried to the house in one lot, the husk-covered ears being hung in bunches below the roof so as to be protected against insects by the smoke. Another way is to fill large burity baskets and stoppered gourd vessels with the kernels, but there they usually soon fall prey to insects. Rice, when ripe, must be harvested forthwith; at first it is gathered in the plantation on a grate of poles covered by a roof, later it is gradually transferred to the village, where it is piled up in the attic in regularly stratified heaps. This process, like rice-growing itself, is derived from the Neobrazilians.

Real care is devoted only to next year's seed-corn, which is stored in firmly corded bags and gourds closed with wax, these containers being packed in baskets usually suspended high up under the roof.

Hunting

The agricultural progress of the Indians is not due to Neobrazilian example nor to the instructions of missionaries and officials of the Indian Welfare Service. It was grim necessity that drove the natives to create a new basis of subsistence. The reduction of the tribal territory to one-twentieth of its former extent; the encroachments of Neobrazilian cattle on even this residual habitat; and the use of firearms in hunting by Neobrazilians and, to some extent, also by the Indians caused such diminution of big game that hunting rapidly lost its economic significance. The younger people of today know tapirs, jaguars, or the mutum (*Mitua mitu*) at best from the narratives of their elders. The only groups preserving the normal aboriginal state in this respect are the Western Gaviões, who bar civilized individuals from their woods, and the Timbira of the Gurupy, beyond whose riparian dwellings extend vast tracts of wholly unsettled forests. All other tribes have for a long time depended primarily on vegetable fare. At festivals, as I discovered among the Krahô', the hunters often vainly exert themselves for weeks in order to secure the game flesh required for the ceremonially prescribed meat pies. During my stay with the Pykóbye I saw no meat except that of stolen head of cattle. While spending six days among the Kre'pų'mkateye I saw no booty from the chase except for a capybara (*Hydrochoerus capibara*); and when I arrived among the Krikatí the chief's welcome was the indignant query why I had not brought some meat.

[169] Memoria, § 11.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

not crave these larvae so passionately as many Guaraní, let alone Kaingang, who fill thick bamboo tubes with them. I have never seen Timbira eating grasshoppers, ants, or any other insects besides those mentioned above.

Weapons.—The principal Timbira weapon is the bow, kuhẽ′ (pl. 15, *b*) nowadays receding with the spread of muzzle-loaders, but still predominantly used even by the Rąmkõ′kamekra, who own probably more firearms than the other steppe Timbira. The bow is of pau d'arco (*Tecoma* sp.), more rarely of piquiá (*Caryocar* sp.), or pau rôxo wood. Its size diminishes with its importance in warfare and hunting. Among the Western Gaviões, who lack guns and still guard their woods with the bow, it attains the enormous length of 254 cm.; the private collection of Estevão de Oliveira contains a specimen. These bows thus rank third for length among the South American types known to me, being surpassed only by the equivalents from the Bakairí of the Xingú headwaters and from the Kaingang of São Paulo. The "Bugre" (Botocudo of Sta. Catharina) bows pronounced as the longest by Krickeberg[28] are thus far inferior, being only 230 cm. long; and so far as my experience goes those of the Sirionó of lower Bolivia, to which some assign the first place, never exceed 216 cm. The maximum measurements among the Eastern Gaviões (Pųkóbye), Krĩkatí, Krahõ′, and Rąmkõ′kamekra) are, respectively: 192, 191, 188, 183 cm.[29]

Common as is a round cross section among the Krahõ′, it is limited to the toy bows of little boys among the Rąmkõ′kamekra, and these may also be elliptical. Otherwise the Timbira—the Kre'pų′mkateye less than the rest—uniformly flatten the string side; a ceremonial Rąmkõ′kamekra specimen has approximately oval cross section.

The tip of the Rąmkõ′kamekra bow, around which they wind the taut end of the string, generally, though not always, has for its support a pad of cordage (pl. 15, *c*). Among the other tribes the tip is slightly set off on the outside. To produce tension they loosen the corded loop from the other end, shorten the string by vigorous twisting, bend the bow with the knee, and push the end again over the rather blunt tip. The bowstring, kuhẽ̃ẽ̃, is of tucum fiber; I have not seen the cotton form ascribed by Snethlage to "the northern tribes."

The hunting arrows of the Timbira are of camayuva cane (*Guadua* sp.) and generally as long as the bow or but slightly shorter (pl. 16, *f*). Solely the Western Gaviões, who require arrows corresponding in length to their gigantic bows, use only canna braba (*Gynerium saccharoides*), obviously because the thickness of the camayuva cane is not proportionate to the requisite length. This tribe tips arrows with huge, two-edged, unserrated bamboo points up to 35 cm. long and 4 cm. wide, which are glued and tied to a wooden foreshaft. Others have a dentate wooden point. Among the other Eastern Timbira I was too late to see arrows with bamboo knives, which are presumably above all for use in warfare. The typical arrow of the Eastern Timbira (like the Apinayé and Šerénte form) altogether lacks a specially mounted point, the end of the camayuva shaft being itself shaped into a point by unilateral beveling. This is the customary hunting arrow of all steppe Timbira, not (as Snethlage states) a mere weapon for practice. The Krĩkatí, Pųkóbye, Kre'pų′mkateye, and Rąmkõ′kamekra have arrows with an inserted wooden foreshaft supporting a flat bone tip, which is put on so that there is a laterally projecting blunt barb (pl. 16, *g*). The last-named people more frequently substitute for the bone point one of iron wire (pl. 16, *h*) or a little barblike rod of hard wood.

[28] In Buschan, Illustrierte Völkerkunde, 293, 294.

[29] Wied-Neuwied, Reise, v. 2, 23, found a "Patschos" bow "8 Fuss 9½ Zoll englisch." *Editor.*

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SC8 Timbira SC8

411 I noted arrows headed with hollow bones (hõ'kóp) and with flat iron points (kro-
321 wakõwakj') among the Kre'pų'mkateye and Pųkóbye; the former type occasionally
322 turns up also among the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

In addition to the foregoing, all steppe Timbira have arrows with smooth wooden heads, as well as with a cross of two pairs of little sticks tied on so that the point projects only a little. The latter type, which serves for hunting birds, is borrowed [177] from the Guajajára, as witnessed by the native term, prỹỹkakót (Guajajára bird-arrow). The bird-arrows of half-grown boys are topped either with a ball of burity bast fiber (pl. 16, *e*) or a segment of a kerneled corncob; or the point may consist of the thickened knoblike root end of the arrowshaft itself (pl. 16, *d*).

411 All Timbira arrows have tangential bridge feathering (pl. 16, *j*). The feathers
171 are tied with cotton string, while the place for inserting the wooden foreshaft of
the arrow is mostly wrapped with black guambé (*Philodendron* sp.) bark. From
[137] an old Indian of the Čą'kamekra tribe now merged in the Rąmkõ'kamekra popu-
lation. I obtained arrows with gynerium shaft and radial sewed feathering (pl. 16, *k*). His neat and competent execution proved thorough familiarity with the rather difficult technique, not a mere attempt at imitation. According to his statements the Čą'kamekra used both bridge and sewed feathering, the latter having been borrowed from the Gamella of Codó, who were destroyed in 1856. Both techniques are also traditionally ascribed to the Gamella of Vianna.[109]

Sewed feathering has for its criterion *attachment of the feathers with threads traversing the shaft by means of several transverse perforations* specially made for the purpose. It occurs in two discrete areas—in the central Matto Grosso and on both sides of the lower Tocantina. Most of the instances given by Schmidt,[110] on the other hand, do not properly fall under this head for lack of any perforation of the shaft.

Our first area, defined by Nordenskiöld,[111] embraces the Bororo, Bakairí (Carib), Yaulapití (Arawak), Trumaí (isolated), Huanyam (Čapakúra), the Tupí stock being represented by the Auetõ', Kamayurá and Kayabí. The existence of a second center was first established by Raymundo Lopes on the basis of literary sources. I am, however, in a position considerably to augment the list of these northern groups, which at present may be summarized as follows: 1, Urubú (Tupí); 2, Amanayé = Ararandeuára (Tupí); 3, Guajajára (rare—Tupí); 4, Parakanã (Tupí); 5, Asuriní (Tupí ?); 6, Arára (Carib); 7, Parirí (Carib); 8, Čą'kamekra (Gê); 9, Gamella of Codó (?); 10, Gamella of Vianna (isolated).

I cannot get rid of the impression that the people who spread this technique were of Tupí stock, though not of the Še branch of this family (Guaraní, Tupinambá). Of the eight Matto Grosso tribes, also, three are Tupí.

The end of the arrow is held with the right thumb and index finger, while the string is pulled with the index, middle and ring fingers. The shaft rests below the extended index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. The arrow is fitted to the string in horizontal position; in letting it fly the archer holds his bow in approximately vertical position. He aims in a straight line, making his shots random only when compelled by the greatness of the distance. Really indirect shots do not occur; I am unable to confirm Snethlage's relevant statement.[112] Given a suitable angle, a Timbira arrow flies about seventy meters, but some measure of certainty goes only with about half that distance.

[109] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 12.
[110] Schmidt, Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten, 1035 f.
[111] Nordenskiöld, Ethnography, 3:45, also map 4.
[112] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 158.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

224
179

Hunting methods.—Traps are remarkably rare among the Timbira. The Rąmkõ'kamekra trap doves with an elastic beam, while boys kill them with automatic bow shots set near their houses. Today men limit themselves to spring-guns when killing deer, pacas, agoutis, etc., by an automatic release; formerly they, too, employed bows and arrows. The nooses for snaring dwarf parrots have been mentioned above (pl. 17, *a*, *b*). Among the Krahõ' I saw two deadfalls of the Mundé type current among Tupí tribes.[39] Like the pyramidal bird traps of horisontal sticks occasionally made by boys, they are evidently derived from Neobrasilians.

Except for the above-mentioned surrounding drive with the aid of fire, the Indians—even when setting out in considerable parties—hunt only singly or in pairs, whether stalking the game or lying in wait at a fixed station. Like the
231 Apinayé, the Eastern Timbira rarely hunt with their dogs, numerous as these are;
174 since their masters do not know how to train them they are of little use in the chase.
136 This slight utilization of the dog supports its post-Columbian derivation. However, it certainly reached the Timbira soon after the discovery, probably through intermediary tribes between them and the coast, for they do not consider the dog an item obtained from civilized people. The Krẽyé of Bacabal and the Rąmkõ'kamekra concur in the view that they obtained dogs by stealing and raising the pups of wild dogs; presumably they have in mind the Brazilian "forest dog" (*Speothos venaticus*). However, the Pųkóbye, Kre'pų'mkateye, and Krẽyé of Bacabal call the species čą (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*]), while the Apą'nyekra, Kénkateye, Rąmkõ'kamekra, and the Põrekamekra equivalent is rop (jaguar), which corresponds to Apinayé, Northern and Southern Kayapó practice.

224 Deer are most commonly hunted from a fixed station in the branches of a tree above the feeding ground of the quarry when in search of fallen blossoms or fruit. The hunter sits on a few transverse poles, waiting for his victim invariably at night. The same method is extended to pacas and agoutis.

The report of a herd of wild pigs at once sets all the hunters of the village to work. They try to sneak up from behind or, for once using their dogs, drive the pigs to bay so that they can be shot or clubbed to death. The only lance I ever saw
(411) among the Timbira I obtained from the Krĩkatí, who used it for hunting pigs; it was a simple pole pointed at one end.

Anteaters, which are easily overtaken in running, are knocked down with clubs. The Timbira are not repelled overmuch by the fantastic stench of the skunk. Even after it is roasted, it retains a disagreeable odor, despite the tenderness and fatness of the flesh, but this is expressing my personal reaction, not that of the Timbira. An armadillo caught on the steppe before it is able to escape into its burrow is killed, as noted by Snethlage, by crushing its skull with a club or any hard object. But if the beast manages to flee into its burrow, it must be dug out at the expense of much labor, which, however, no Timbira begrudges, even if he is obliged to keep digging till he himself vanishes in the pit, as I have actually witnessed. None of these Indians could bring himself to pass an armadillo burrow without probing whether the animal is inside; and if that is ascertained, the digging starts at once, commonly with nothing but a stick hastily hacked into shape.

The stalker of a pampa ostrich masks himself with a disguise of palm grass hanging downward from the forehead and neck; or the hunter approaches after quickly painting himself with black stripes, the pigment being provided by the omnipresent charcoal remaining from steppe fires. During the dry season he lies in wait in a special hut, kwęk, near the watering place of the ostriches. The sariema is easily

[39] Nordenskiöld, Ethnography, 3:67, fig. 14.

1s Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SCS Timbira SCS

224 but remained standing aloof. But after the spoils had been piled up, a tamhq'k went
791 there to select a portion for himself and his fellow members, and they then distributed it among themselves.

If the hunting party had killed a tapir, all persons within reach gathered round the carcass, and an old man selected as vigorous a young tamhq'k as could be found. The man chosen set off his occipital hair by tying in the manner explained, and painted the oral region with charcoal powder; whereupon the old man stuck a wad of cotton between the tamhq'k's lips. For evisceration the beast was laid, belly up, [789] on palm leaves, then a knife was ground and put on the game. The tamhq'k stepped up, seized the knife, slowly made a single downward incision in the skin, cutting chest and belly, and redeposited the blade. The object of this performance was to render the tapir fat when dissected. The old man thereupon handed the animal's liver to one of the tamhq'k's relatives, who had a pie, ku'kr̨'ti, prepared from it, which the young men brought to the elders in the plaza.

224 The killer of a jaguar screamed beside the carcass until one of his hunting companions approached, took away the hunter's weapon, whether bow or gun, and gave him his own in exchange. The hunter distributed the skin among the bravest men, who used it for armlets on their upper arms.

776 The sun is considered the protector of game animals, which are thus commended
782 to his care: Of a late afternoon an old man summoned the men to form a circle
224 round him in the plaza. He stood resting on a stick, faced east, turning his back to the solar disk, and prayed: "Kédeti imr̨ prire kuna yamãke imr̨ katí vakokú rqité a'nã ató impey!" Approximately this means: "May the Grandfather [sun] protect all beasts so they grow up and can be eaten by man." Then the suppliant successively enumerated the long series of species whose welfare he commended to the sun.

Fishing

226 Fishing is but slightly developed among the Timbira. Its economic insignificance
171 has been noted by Snethlage, too.[39] Even with tribes like the Kre'pų'mkateye and the Timbira of Araparytíua, who live directly on the banks of sizable rivers, fishing plays a subordinate role. As for the steppe Timbira, the brooks near their settlements furnish only small fish in moderate quantities, so that a family could hardly ever eat its fill from the produce of a catch. Fishing was naturally eliminated for the Krĩkatí, who dipped up their water supply from water holes. However, in special cases certain small species form the prescribed diet.

226 Fish are secured by shooting with arrows (pl. 16, *h*, *i*), with a line, and (after drugging) with a scoop net (pl. 17, *c*). Fish spears and anchored nets are lacking, as are basketry traps and the "pari" traps frequent among the Tupí tribes and also found among the Apinayé. The fish arrows are sometimes, but not as a rule, without feathers. They are generally marked by the greater length of their gynerium shafts and bear simple barbed points. Harpoon darts and arrows with several points are unknown.

226 Tradition does not report aboriginal fishhooks. Those now in use are of iron,
● 177 mostly from North America, and are designated by the term kyó, derived from
463 Portuguese *anzol*. The Indians themselves manufacture the line from tucum fiber. Angling devolves mainly on the children, women, and old men.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra poison fish with the plant now cultivated by them and
226 called kalón by the Timbira, the timguy of the Neobrazilians, from whom the In-
114 dians borrowed it. Another fish drug, less used at present, but in my opinion

[39] Nordestbras. Ind., 160.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

552 a new copper roasting pan in place of one that was no longer usable, they regarded it as my daughter, so to speak, and accordingly my sister, Kra'napą'n, transferred her name to it.

551 Nicknames, except for those bestowed by Neobrazilians and then sometimes used by the natives themselves, are rare and borne mostly by young lads and girls. Thus, one youth was called Pičanre, from Portuguese *pixano* (used to call tomcats) plus the diminutive ending; and the fat little wanton Muruwá was dubbed Tokí, from Portuguese *toquinho*, a small tree stump.

[17] All adult Rąmkõ'kamekra have been baptized by Catholic priests, some possibly more than once. They use exclusively these baptismal names in their intercourse with Neobrazilians, but very rarely among themselves—the women never, a considerable number of them having forgotten their Christian names.

No Timbira manifests any reluctance about uttering his name. Refusal to answer Neobrazilian queries on this point is due simply to the feeling that it is none of the interrogator's business or that he could not pronounce the name anyway.

ORPHANS; TREATMENT OF CHILDREN

736 855 If the mother dies, her child remains with her kinswomen, with whom it has been living since birth, though in contravention of the matrilocal principle a girl is occasionally brought up by her father's sister. The father's death does not materially affect the child's social status either, for the orphans' relatives treat them with as much amiability and benevolence as if they were their own offspring. Thanks to their matrilocal institutions the Rąmkõ'kamekra have no "poor, unfortunate orphans": a stepfather has no power to abuse them in a house that is not his, but theirs; and an "evil stepmother" simply has no close contacts with them.

All the Timbira treat their children with great patience and gentleness, never yelling at them, nor, so far as I have observed, ever beating them. Stubborn little children or those who bawl from sheer caprice—a thing of rare occurrence—are simply ignored by their parents and very soon stop.

PLAY

524 532 Little girls have relatively many toys. Their dolls are approximately cylindrical pieces of burity leafstalk, rarely of wood; they are of the length of a finger or span. They lack heads, face, and limbs, though female dolls are provided with wax breasts, a corded girdle, and sometimes corded sashes. The male dolls generally lack all decoration, being only rarely equipped with a forehead band and grass girdle. Both sexes are painted black and red or have falcon down glued on them. (See pl. 23, *i–k*.)

415 524 Practically all the domestic utensils of adults may serve as patterns for toys; one sees tiny gourd bowls and bottles, fire fans, baskets of all sorts, provender pouches, little sleeping mats and hammocks, manioc presses and strainers, carrying baskets, etc. Coiled basketry, which these Indians had completely abandoned as too complicated for practical use, was found exclusively as the technique for toy baskets at the time of my first visit. At my suggestion it was revived for utensils. [123] (See pls. 23, *h, l, m*; 24, *d–f, h, k, l*.)

857 In the bushes back of the dwellings little girls assemble in twos or threes to set up a dolls' household sheltered by little huts made of twigs and mats. Then they beg their mothers to glue falcon down on a doll couple so as to be able to get them married by laying the dolls together on a miniature sleeping mat.

Toys are the property of the child; to obtain them I had to get the child's consent.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

587 Within the whole span of my experience I observed a single instance of the levirate, an elderly widower marrying his younger brother's widow. It struck me as an exceptional case. There certainly was not the least obligation for such a step; on the contrary, several Indians seemed to regard the affair as a bit peculiar and the manner in which the man concerned, my "brother," chief Kukrãčą', told me about it sounded almost apologetic.

MATRILOCAL RESIDENCE; IN-LAWS

591 There is strict matrilocalism; even if a husband builds a separate dwelling for his wife, it is invariably erected beside her mother's. I know of no instance of a [958] woman's spending as much as a single night in her husband's mother's house except to tend him during a serious illness, for in that case he would invariably be conveyed to his maternal home. Sometimes, as noted, a niece may be raised in her paternal aunt's house.

578 As a rule a young husband plays a very modest part in his mother-in-law's house. 592 If his conduct is disapproved of, he is not indeed turned out of doors, but the other inmates simply ignore him. Unless, then, the union is of the indissoluble type, the poor fellow either turns over a new leaf or takes his sleeping mat, either returning to his mother's dwelling or joining his age class in the plaza.

606 During the first years of wedlock a man never communicates directly with his 607 parents-in-law, his wife serving as an intermediary for either party. In the course of time—especially after the arrival of children—the rule is relaxed, that is, at first only between father-in-law and son-in-law, who henceforth converse with fair freedom from restraint. Finally, the wife's mother also addresses her daughter's husband, though a certain reserve is maintained inasmuch as they avoid meeting or addressing each other when by themselves. In case of a chance encounter the son-in-law gives the woman a wide berth.

On the other hand, a husband is quite free in his intercourse with his wife's brothers. In several instances I was struck by their inconsiderate use of the husband's personal property, and a certain Nyõhí once confidentially complained to me about the tyranny of his brothers-in-law. Connections by marriage never address each other by their names, but use the proper kinship terms unless they are each other's hąpín or kwų'nõ, which makes them substitute these terms. A woman calls a man "my son-in-law" even after the dissolution of the marriage.

421 A good son-in-law is, above all, expected to lay out a plantation for his wife and 593 to supply her with meat. Many couples remain in the wife's maternal home for good; some erect one for themselves, but this always belongs to the wife, even after divorce, notwithstanding the fact that it was built by her husband.

552 From the matrilocal organization, coupled with feminine house and field owner-554 ship, as well as control of the children, it follows that the husband as such plays a minor role, his influence resting on personal merit. With the lapse of time some may thus attain an important position, others remain subordinate all their lives. In no circumstances is there any question of masculine dominance over a wife and children.

177 The contact with civilization, facilitating housebuilding and agriculture through 552 the introduction of iron tools, enhanced the importance of women, while that of 736 men rather decreased through the elimination of war and the diminution of hunting. A widow's destitution, a disowned wife's misery, a couple's quarrel over the control of their offspring—these are matters known to the Canella only as occurring among their civilized neighbors. After the husband's death the widow and her

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

593 182 Apart from disturbances of this sort and others due to the men's intoxication, marital life pursues an extraordinarily even course. Matrilocal residence safeguards women from their husbands' tyranny, while the manifold masculine organizations militate against henpecking. No woman ever tries to keep her husband from taking part in performances of his organizations; and no man forbids his wife to join in all of the three daily dances. Undoubtedly the multiplicity of ceremonial units tends to separate spouses and promotes each one's acting independently of the other. Man and wife never proceed to a festival or ceremony jointly, each going by himself whenever his presence is required.

837 833 Many a Neobrazilian neighbor acts as though he had difficulty avoiding fornication with Indian girls constantly offered by their fathers. Snethlage[99] thus heard about a mulatto alleged to have secured the *jus primae noctis* of all the virgins in a Krahô' village in return for an annual payment of a dozen head of cattle. In 1936 I spent a fortnight in the Krahô' village of Pedra Branca. When I was about to leave, the inhabitants and, above all, chief Vicente Kratpê' made every effort to attach me to the tribe, for they had grasped my attitude toward ancient Indian usage and wanted to use me to oppose the Baptist missionaries. I was requested to wait until after a certain festival, but I answered that time would not permit this. Then the chief offered me a girl; I declined. In the evening he and his wife came to me with two girls of whom I was to select the one I liked better. However, both were village wantons, daughters of the chief's sister; and he offered them to me not because I was a transient visitor, but in my capacity of a prospective fellow tribesman and champion of tribal tradition.

548 626 On the other hand, I have known a Rąmkô'kamekra who kept two young wantons, the daughters of a deceased sister, in his matrilineal home, and sold their favors to Neobrazilians. But when people began to gossip about his behavior, it was so vigorously condemned that he felt obliged to forego this source of income.

832 609 According to my observation young girls are the very ones to display a marked repugnance to Neobrazilians, especially if dark skinned and frizzy haired, since the strangers depart widely from the native ideal of manly beauty. Their clothing repels the lasses, their easy-going, sauntering gait seems ridiculous since a kind of dogtrot is prized as the acme of youthful dash; and altogether the inquisitive outsiders prove a disturbing element. If a Neobrazilian joins a bevy of girls, they soon begin to pass surly comments, and the one who best controls Portuguese speech bluntly asks what he wants and bids him depart. They delight in lying to such men, telling them the Indian men are likely to kill them, etc.

833 609 177 It is nevertheless quite possible that older wantons and perhaps an occasional married woman will yield access to civilized men; such cases hardly ever occur in the settlement, but only when the Indians scatter over their territory in small groups during the season before the ripening of the crops. At that time they are everywhere surrounded and hemmed in by Neobrazilians, camp in their immediate vicinity, and associate with them. Further, there was one woman in Ponto who was about thirty years old and was known to the Neobrazilians as Romana. She often spent weeks among them, was the only native woman addicted to drink, and had free intercourse with neighbors; the Indians shunned her, I think, from fear of venereal diseases.

WANTONS

837 562 554 The wantons (mentíapeyti) form—apparently among all those Timbira tribes that are still tolerably numerous and well organized—a recognized, though not organized class. According to old custom, girls are wantons if they did not marry as

[99] Snethlage, Nordostbras. 170.

Ju Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1938) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

764 chief Ropkᾴ, and opposite him chief Kukrãdᾴ, who calls Ropkᾴ his uncle, was
596 delivering the funeral oration. When the women put the corpse on Ropkᾴ's lap he began to cry aloud and desperately, while Kukrãdᾴ rose and went to the plaza to arrange for the digging of the grave. In the meantime the boy's maternal uncle who was to have transferred his name to the child arrived on the scene, likewise took the corpse on his lap, and fell to crying violently. Kentapí called my attention to the fact that neither she nor her mother took hold of the corpse lest the child of her sister Iromkré, who was still in her lying-in retreat, should cry constantly.

764 In the plaza the chief asks who wishes to dig the grave. A volunteer always comes
616 forward, but it must not be a member of the dead man's exogamous moiety. The mode of remunerating his and the corpse decorators' services has been described (p. 102).

[765] Formerly, when secondary burial was still in vogue, the deceased was first buried
764 behind his mother's home, except for a hąmren (p. 98). When I visited the Krahô in 1930, these Indians seemed to have still maintained the custom of burial behind the house; the Rąmkô'kamekra of today would at most follow it in the case of an infant.

● 177 The grave is more or less 2 meters in depth. Formerly it was round, and the corpse was put in there in a sitting posture, facing east.[200] At present, at least among the Rąmkô'kamekra, the grave is exclusively rectangular, the corpse lying extended on its back.

764 If the death occurs in the morning, the burial takes place in the evening; if a
766 person dies in the evening, he is buried the following morning and there is an all-night lament near the corpse. If the deceased man's prominence draws many related persons to the spot, a kinsman kills a pig, which is hurriedly prepared for the entertainment of those present. Part of the food is then put in a gourd for the dead man, an elderly woman several times holding a morsel close to his mouth.

The mats on which the corpse rests are folded over it and tied firmly at both ends and in the middle. Then the bundle is hung to a pole, which two men carry to the cemetery—at present from one and a half to two kilometers from the village. A few additional mats are taken along for the adjustment of the grave. None of the Timbira tribes throws earth directly on the corpse, as reported for the Pôrekamekra by Pohl, who does not, however, seem to have attended a funeral; and the grave described by Ribeiro was presumably not a Timbira's, as he assumes, but that of a Gamella of Vianna.[201] The opening of the grave is covered with transversely laid pieces of wood, which are topped with mats before heaping up earth. Lest the heat of the sun annoy the deceased, twigs and palm fronds are put on this mound; sometimes the grave is fenced with old racing logs to keep out roaming domestic pigs. (See pl. 26, *b*).

At least nowadays there are no funeral deposits except that a woman's carrying basket may be laid on her mound along with a gourd bowl, her spindle, and the like.

The next of kin never accompany the corpse to its grave, but remain seated in the house of mourning, weeping probably another half hour at the empty spot where it had been resting. Then they have themselves sprinkled with water in front of the house "in order to remove the dead man's perspiration," a service which is paid for. The house and the space before it are always swept.

775 Like the Apinayé,[202] the Canella believe that the shadow of a person who dies
171 "hungry," that is, has not for some time prior to his demise taken any food, will return to his mother's home in search of sustenance. Their procedure is quite like

[200] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Snethlage, Nordostbras, 173.
[201] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Ribeiro, Memoria, § 26–28.
[202] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 152.

Ñ: Nimuendajú E-6 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

775 171 that of the Apinayé: the relatives stimulate a hunt, prepare a meat pie, and at nightfall set it on a little scaffold behind the house in the steppe, with a gourd bowl full of water. While the rest of the people are dancing in the plaza, an old man watches near by until he hears a rustling in the leafy wrapper of the pie. Then he announces to the others: "He has already eaten!" Thereupon the councilors have the pie brought to the plaza, where they distribute it among themselves.

766 In 1935 I witnessed an unusual funeral ceremony. Kwqirê're, a young woman of about nineteen, had died in confinement. She had been the girl associate of the kaprąnpotîkama age class and because of her gentle, amiable disposition enjoyed extraordinary popularity. Since by virtue of her office she was hąmrén, her corpse had falcon down glued on and its cheeks were decorated with small black triangles. Thus it lay on a mat opposite the door, surrounded by her wailing tribesmen.

In the meantime her age class assembled in the plaza, where they sat down in a line, while a precentor slowly shook his rattle and sang in an undertone. At last they rose, trotted toward the house of mourning, entered, and formed a line on both sides of the door, facing the corpse, continuing to sing with muffled voices, and adumbrating dance movements. Suddenly three of them stepped up to the corpse, one of them raising it from the rear and setting it on its feet, while his two companions took her arms. Thus they executed with the dead woman characteristically feminine dance movements, making her bend the knees slightly and move her arms, which were flexed at right angles, backward and forward. The lament swelled into a terrific hubbub, men, women, and children all howling in savage desperation. The corpse's pale, decorated countenance, over which a half-indifferent smile seemed to glide, contrasted oddly with the grief-distorted, tear-stained faces of the mourners. The macabre dance lasted only a few seconds, then the three laid down the body, folded the mats over it, tied up the bundle, and lifted it to their shoulders without the customary attachment to a pole. With it they ran outdoors, followed by their classmates, and disappeared at a trot. Thus the class carried their dead associate to her grave after having once more made her dance before them as of yore.

764 177 Formerly all the Timbira practiced secondary burial. Among the Põrekamekra Pohl obtained the following account:

Nach Verlauf eines Jahres versammelt sich die Gemeinde wieder unter denselben Ausdrücken der Trauer an dem Grabe; es wird geöffnet, der Körper herausgenommen, hingelegt, und nun erzählt man ihm alles was sich seit seinem Tod in der Aldea im Allgemeinen und in seiner Familie im Besondern zugetragen hat. Hierauf werden die Gebeine des Verstorbenen mit Urucú rot bemalt, und zur abermaligen Beerdigung nach dem allgemeinen Begräbnisplatz getragen.

Until some twenty years ago the Canella still maintained secondary burial in individual cases, at least for the hąmrén; for the rest of the population the custom had fallen into desuetude. Formerly, the secondary interment took place three or five years after the first. The most appropriate person to execute it was the husband of the widow's sister; and if a bachelor undertook the job, he thereby acquired a certain claim to the hand of the widow's unmarried sister. Unfortunately I do not know what preferential conditions obtained at the secondary burial of a woman.

The bones were scraped clean with an implement from the leafstalk of a bacaba palm and were painted with urucú. Then they were wrapped up in cotton threads specially spun for the purpose by the dead person's mother (or a kinswoman acting as her substitute) and tied together. Finally the remains were put into a burity bag and buried in a shallow hole in the cemetery.

The period of mourning and the rules of inheritance are described elsewhere (pp. 126, 158).

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

Timbira, remained hostile until their extinction, to which the Rąmkõ'kamekra contributed their share.[88] The southern frontier witnessed fights with the Neobrazilians, whose predecessors in that region are unknown. The Apą'nyekra to the west were not precisely hostile, but neither was there true friendship between these two Canella tribes, who in fact have not yet achieved that relationship.

Bravery.—Ribeiro, familiar with Timbira warfare through long years of personal experience, unreservedly bears witness to the great bravery of these Indians:

> Fora-lhes algum tempo horrorosas as nossas armas de fogo, porem familiarisados com tudo o que nos diz respeito, até sabem que sem a bala ou chumbo, a mesma polvora não vale contra elles: e é isto tanto assim, que quando sentem haver semelhante falta, avançam destimidos para tiral-as das mãos aos soldados, o que tem muitas vezes acontecido. De braço a braço poucos homens apparecem que possem medir com elles a valentia; as mesmas indias não degeneram em robustesa, e já observamos uma que vindo prisioneira, quiz fugir levando debaixo do braço a sua sentinella, e o faria se não lhe tivessem acudido; era ella de bôa altura e tanto bem proporcionada que lhe chamavam nossos soldados a Lazan grande.
>
> (Formerly our firearms inspired them with fear; but today, when they are familiar with everything concerning us, they even know that powder is impotent without bullets and shot, so that as soon as they note such deficiency they fearlessly advance, in order to snatch them [the weapons] out of the soldiers' hands, as has frequently happened. Man to man, there seem to be few men able to vie with them in point of bravery. Even the women are not inferior in robustness and we have seen one such brought in as a captive who tried to escape by dragging along her guard under her arm and would have succeeded if he had not received aid. She was of goodly stature and so well built that our soldiers dubbed her "the big sorrel mare.")[89]

And again:

> Ha entre elles homens muito valorosos! Nos observamos em 1801 a coragem com que um gentio Capiekrans defendeu a sua liberdade contra doze soldados, que o surprehenderam quasi sem armas, e primeiro tiveram estes a crueldade de fazel-o em pedaços do que a gloria de prendel-o. Em 1807 observamos tambem a animozidade de um dos Timbiras das matas, que sahindo de certa emboscada ao meio de mais de cem homens nossos, que se distrahiam em differentes trabalhos, na occasião em que se estabeleceu o arrayal do Principe Regente, matou um delles, espancou outros, e retirou-se airosamente antes de poder ser ofendido.
>
> (There are very brave men among them! In 1801 we observed the courage with which a Capiekrans [= Rąmkõ'kamekra] Indian defended his liberty against twelve soldiers who had surprised him almost unarmed and had rather the satisfaction of cruelly cutting him to pieces than the glory of capturing him. In 1807 we also observed the audacity of a Forest Timbira [= Cą'kamekra], who dashed from some ambush into the midst of over a hundred of our people employed with sundry tasks at the founding of the Arroyal do Principe Regente; he killed one man, attacked several others and dexterously withdrew before he could be made to suffer any injury.)[90]

At present the Timbira, weakened by defeat and disease, know that the overwhelming majority of their civilized neighbors are merely waiting for a pretext to pose as defenseless victims of Indian savagery, demanding corresponding coercive measures by officials and the government, or even to resort to such on their own initiative. Hence an Indian hesitates for a long time before reacting to Neobrazilian insults and threats, thus acquiring a character for "cowardice." But even nowadays the camel's back will break: not many years ago, in the presence of half a dozen people in front of a fazenda, the Rąmkõ'kamekra Wakái shot down a Neobrazilian with an arrow, when the man continued for a long time to vituperate the at first unresisting Indian and threaten him with death.

Tactics.—Against Neobrazilians the Timbira presumably applied surprise attacks from ambush, but against their own kind they were by no means afraid of open

[88] Nimuendajú, The Gamella, 8.
[89] Memoria, § 19.
[90] *Ibid.*, § 22.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

725 Äußerste an, ihn fortzubringen, weil es für eine besondere Schmach gehalten wird, lebend oder tot in die Hände der Feinde zu gerathen."[265]

After every shot the Rąmkŏ'kamekra are accustomed to give their buttocks a resounding smack with the palms of their hands and to utter piercing, quavering cries while slapping their lips in rapid succession. The "glowing embers" at the tip of the incendiary arrow generally consist of a kerneled maize cob; in its flight the resistance of the air produces a blaze.

726 In fighting Neobrazilians the Timbira attacked either single individuals or an
177 estate, immediately withdrawing after the first clash. Nevertheless, panic preceded them, as witnessed by Ribeiro:[266]

"... pois temos observado em repetidas occasiões que á primeira voz que se ouve no sertão como dizendo:—'Ahí vem gentios, são muitos, já invadiram tal fazenda, mataram tantas pessoas, não ha quem possa resistir-lhe'—não se averigua mais nada, transmitten os habitantes seu terror uns aos outros, largam os fazendeiros suas fazendas sem saber a quem, e por toda parte fogem como carneiros sem saber de que.

(... for we have repeatedly observed that with the first cry uttered in the sertão that "Indians are coming, there are so many, they have already attacked such and such a fazenda and killed so many persons, no one can resist them," people do not investigate further, but one settler imparts his alarm to the next, the fazendeiros surrendering their fazendas without knowing to whom and fleeing like sheep without knowing from what.)

725 Against the bandeiras the Indians sought refuge in the steep mesas scattered
177 throughout Timbira territory. That it was sometimes inadvisable to pursue them is proved by the destruction of Manoel José de Assumpção's bandeira at the Serra da Desordem by the Pųkóbye in 1814. The Timbira also applied to warfare their hunting technique of the surround with firing of the grass, as demonstrated by the case of Manoel Lopes' bandeira, which was almost destroyed by a fire in a dry bamboo thicket.[267]

727 The Rąmkŏ'kamekra took no prisoners, but indiscriminately knocked down opponents with their clubs. They neither mutilated corpses nor took home any part of the body as a trophy. According to Ribeiro, however, the Pųkóbye in 1814 captured a girl alive at the destruction of Porto da Chapada (=Grajahú);[268] and in 1808 the Čą'kamekra are reported to have taken along the ears of a boy killed near Principe Regente.

266 The Čą'kamekra have been accused of anthropophagy but probably only to facilitate application to them of the special laws against cannibals decreed by the Portuguese government. Ribeiro explains the origin of the report:

The Čą'kamekra had forced a bandeira of two hundred men to retreat and had killed the leader, Eugenio Antonio, whom his followers buried on the spot. Another bandeira of two hundred men headed by Manuel Lopes attempted to avenge the defeat in the following year, but with no more success. When they got to Antonio's grave, the bones were found to have been disinterred, scattered, and charred "as though the attached flesh had been roasted and even with traces of gnawing."

But Ribeiro himself states that this does not prove Čą'kamekra cannibalism.[269]

701 *Organization.*—The raids of the Rąmkŏ'kamekra were executed either by all warriors on the councilors' decision or by single individuals on their own responsibility. Youths figured as "warriors" (pep) from the close of their initiation to the close of the next younger age-class's initiation, that is, for about ten years. The age-class leaders directly headed the warriors, but the real command was vested in

[265] Pohl, Reise, 2:206.
[266] Memoria, § 74.
[267] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 79.
[268] *Ibid.*, § 38.
[269] *Ibid.*, § 37.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

685 The commonest form of larceny is that of women stealing one another's fruits in their plantations. If only small quantities are involved, the sufferer for the sake of harmony says nothing. Otherwise the aggrieved party, desiring to evade a quarrel with the thief, appeals to the councilors, who force the thief to make restitution or pay an indemnity. It is difficult for a native to steal undetected, for a single footprint is more damaging evidence than if he had left a visiting card. On a single occasion I overheard a woman loudly calling another names for more than five minutes, shouting over from her own house to the thief's, because of repeated plundering of the vituperator's field. Then her husband intervened to lead her indoors, which put a stop to the affair. Contrary to Ribeiro's evidence, I have never seen anyone beaten up for larceny.

685 177 As to the cattle lifting that has given the Rąmkõ'kamekra an unmerited notoriety in the state of Maranhão, a few explanatory statements are indicated. At first the cattle were killed because they were considered a palatable form of game. Later the Indians realized that the livestock was the property of their enemies, to whom they were thus able to cause damage. Still later they concluded treaties, were torn away from their habitat and their economic basis and were thus forced to steal cattle to stave off starvation in the new circumstances created by the Neobrazilians. Today the game of the country has been destroyed and driven off by the stock-breeding fazendeiros, so that when obliged, especially in connection with a tribal festival, to secure the requisite meat, the Indians have to hunt for weeks in vain. They consider themselves entitled now and then to eat some of the fazendeiros' livestock because these animals graze on Indian plantations, where they may even be deliberately driven by their owners with the intention of making life in the locality intolerable for the natives. From time to time the sertão settlers whip themselves into a moral indignation over the Indians' terrible depredations among the hard-won herds of the pitiable fazendeiros, who wear themselves to the bone year in, year out, only to see the whole produce of their labors disappear in the natives' bellies.

The worst enemy of the Rąmkõ'kamekra, José de Arruda, once set the annual number of cattle the Rąmkõ'kamekra stole from him at several hundred. I know that cattle lifting is a fact and am now in a position to gauge the damage done, which from 1928 to 1937 certainly did not exceed *six* head annually, the average being probably three to four, distributed over as many owners. Where there are no Indians, cattle theft also occurs; but within the Indian zone I have never heard a non-Indian charged with the crime.

733 177 689 A second form of crime occasioned by contact with civilization is due to intoxicants. The Brazilian criminal's eternal plea of extenuating circumstances because he had not been himself is nonsensical from the Indian point of view. However, that a man befuddled with whisky is irresponsible is obvious to the natives. At present they are familiar enough with the use of liquor, yet they are not quite clear how to reckon with misdeeds perpetrated while drunk; they vacillate between regarding the drunkard wholly unaccountable because of his condition and considering on a par crimes in sober and in intoxicated state.

As a matter of fact, crimes due to alcoholism are far less numerous than might be supposed, the following cases having come to my notice. The gravest was the rape of an immature girl by her father (p. 114), which resulted in his wife's divorcing him. In a second instance a drunken Indian rather seriously injured his wife by striking her hand with a bush-knife; but after a period of separation it was possible to reconcile the pair by calling attention to their children's interests. Otherwise, I

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

was told, the family of the injured wife would have demanded indemnification. Again, an intoxicated Indian kicked his wife and she was ailing for some time after; a divorce ensued, but no further consequences. In addition I noted four or five rather harmless drunken brawls. When a drunkard remains a nuisance, the chiefs have him tied unless the man's relatives have already resorted to that measure, not as a penalty but a precaution. I have never seen in any Timbira village a post to which culprits are tied by way of punishment.[87]

The damages demanded when defloration is not followed by wedlock and the attitude toward adultery have been described.

Disciplinary transgressions are punished only in the case of the lads in initiatory seclusion. During the nocturnal reunions of the pepyé in their first commandant's courtyard, the culprit was called to appear between the double line of pepyé seated along the walls, where the second commandant addressed to him a prolix rebuke. In graver cases the boy had to lift his arms and the two messenger boys administered several lashes on his back with the long, thin rods (pĩhêre) that are their inseparable appanage. A pepyé who breaks the rule of chastity is forced to eat great quantities of Cayenne pepper. In 1933 the councilors were about to decree this penalty for Tepyét because he sneaked out of his retreat every night to visit his fiancée; but when Tepyét saw that the elders really meant to punish him, he altered his conduct in the nick of time. Among the Apą'nyekra such a culprit would be removed from his retreat and set in the plaza beside his associate in guilt, which was regarded as very ignominious.

Evil sorcerers were executed (see p. 239 f.).

The following legal principles emerge from the concrete instances: (1) Both the culprit and the aggrieved party are aided by the extended families; (2) the chiefs and councilors take pains to adjust quarrels as soon as possible; (3) for this purpose they use the services either of specially gifted persons or of the individuals linked by specially close ties to the parties involved.

Chiefs.—As indicated above, a chief does not command and punish, but is above all a peacemaker. He does not interfere in a family's private affairs, but when his decision is requested it is held binding. At the time of my visit there were three village chiefs, Ropką' (Jaguar-skin), Hąktokót, and Kukrãčą'. Ropką', the oldest, had been mamkyẽ'ti of an age-class that graduated about 1893, but his colleagues had never served in a corresponding capacity. Whenever strife threatens, the chiefs and councilors send men of recognized skill as moderators to calm a refractory tribesman.

The leader of any unit excepting the age-classes is called pa'hí, mehopa'hí, but only a village chief is hąmrén.

Chiefs exercise little political control and display a minimum of individual assertiveness, for the omnipresent ceremonial regulates most of the social life, and it is their and the council's duty to maintain the customary law rather than legislate anew. Chiefs lack badges of official status and receive not a whit more of the food offerings periodically presented in the plaza than the councilors associated with them. They work for a living precisely as any fellow tribesman. However, they do enjoy a measure of prestige, as shown by certain rules of etiquette. Thus, strangers must present themselves to one of the chiefs and explain the object of their visit; he may then either discuss the matter with his colleagues and the council at their next session or immediately call an extraordinary meeting. In the plaza a chief always sits near the center, for it would be indecorous for anyone else to seat himself in front of a chief or to turn his back upon him.

[87] As related by Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 13.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

K796 881 177

Interruptions.—By the middle of June the ketúaye were sufficiently trained to warrant the holding of the terminal solemnity, but several incidents interfered with the program. In the first place, the arrival of whisky dealers near the village led to alcoholic excesses for a while, preventing the assemblage of the personnel for the ceremonies. Secondly, a neighboring farmer threatened the Indians with vengeance for real and alleged cattle lifting, so that many Rąmkõ'kamekra retired to remote plots of cultivated land, taking ketúaye with them. Again, disturbances in the neighboring towns of Leandro and Barra do Corda, though unconnected with the Indians, maintained the existing tension, enhanced by fantastic reports about a revolution in all of Brazil and about skirmishes in the vicinity. As a result of all this, the suspicious Indians dispersed in all directions. Finally, with great difficulty I succeeded in reassembling them by July 14, and the final ketúaye ceremonial began two days later, closing on July 21.

796 881

Closing ceremonial.—About 3 P.M. on July 16 there were two log races between the eastern and western age classes. The first involved carrying relatively light hardwood (pąrąkačą're) cylinders, 47 cm. in length and only 7 cm. in thickness, from the place of manufacture to the plaza. The second race, with thick burity logs that had served in a previous competition, was around the boulevard. There followed the daily chant of the ketúaye in the plaza.

At 4:30 P.M. the ayų'k ceremony began. The ketúaye marched to the plaza and again danced there. When they were through, the catchers took the feather ornaments of the leaders into their left hands and led the ketúaye, marching in a double column, to the front of the eastern house of seclusion, where the ketúaye in one row squatted on their heels, holding both hands, the palms up, horizontally under the chin. The two catchers stepped in front of the middle of this line, one of them proceeding to the right, the other to the left, from one boy to another. While moving in this way they seized the air with the right hand and feigned depositing something invisible into the boys' upturned hands, this being the mode of feeding the souls. Thereupon the ketúaye rose, the easterners moving northward, the westerners southward along the boulevard. They halted before the vų'tę' girls' houses in the north and south and once more mimicked the feeding of the souls, finally reuniting for the same purpose in a single line in front of the seclusion house of the western group.

After this ceremony, which consumed an hour, they again marched to the plaza, where they preserved the usual order, but sitting down instead of standing. Only the catchers remained standing, as usual holding the head feathers of the class leaders in their left hands. Immediately behind the two lines of boys sat their matrilineal kinswomen, laying both hands on the novices' shoulders. Hąktokót intoned the ayų'k song, which the boys repeated singly one after another: "hamuyẽhẽ hamuyõhõ ahõ hamuyẽhẽ hamuyõhõ ahõ hamuyẽ rikavá." Simultaneously and in time, they rubbed the palms of their hands against their thighs. After all had gone through the chant singly, they sang in chorus. Then the second ayų'k song was sung by each one singly, to the rhythmic accompaniment of the palms struck against the thighs. After this chant the ketúaye marched to their seclusion houses.

Beginning as early as 3 A.M. on the following morning there was vehement dancing in the plaza, but without the ketúaye. Before sunset chief Ropkę' and his family went to a farm in order to cook sweet potatoes and yams there. At 6 A.M. six old men of the prókama age class came to call for me. Ordinarily no longer painted and decorated, these councilors had donned forehead bands and burity bast ties, and provided me with similar decoration. Uttering the call of their class, "Pro! Pro!", they trotted southward out of the village, crossed the Atolador and Ponto creeks

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

The pepkahą'k sit in a circle on the mats, with a fixed position of their legs, grasp each staff at about the level of the head and brace it vertically against the ground. In the middle of the circle sits the old precentor, opposite him the girls. The chant begins in very low and deep tones, in sharply stressed two-fourths time, for the singers rhythmically rock their bodies with a circular movement from the right forward toward the left, always resting on their staffs. The girl associates, who are without staffs, sit immobile. From the village this initial chant sounds almost like the muffled, rhythmic noise of a machine in motion. After a while there are songs with words. Now the girls' loud and clear notes drown the dull masculine chorus of men and youths. After a while all rise and continue their songs standing, always propped on their staffs and lightly stamping their right feet during the rotary movement of their bodies. Thus the songs continue from seven till midnight or even later. Between every two stanzas there is a short intermission, often hardly a second in duration; at greater intervals a longer pause is interpolated, during which all sit down and rest. No one utters a word throughout the entire performance, only the leaders occasionally whisper some direction. If the nocturnal bird called *rasga-mortalha* by the Brazilians (*Caprimulgus* sp.) utters his cry during a song, the chant abruptly ceases. Ordinarily some forty stanzas are sung each night.

Kentapí, the girl associate of 1928, who still remembered most of the texts spontaneously and as Ką'e's niece could easily get relevant information, dictated to me painfully (for like all other informants, she would constantly lose the context) a number of stanzas, but she was able to translate them no more than any fellow villager. So far as I credit myself with grasping the meaning, the lines refer exclusively to animals, especially to birds and their food, each verse dealing with a single species:

1. hinarí karakõẽ' kukrĩ'ti
   ? soar king vultures
2. kaka teyarí tomó pųpų're ha teyarí tomó
   ? step waterfowl? step
3. yu krẽkahą'ka kõrat nayeneką'
   ? maracaná ? ?
4. hõtire, hõtire vinekpikąepičą ta'nõiamã
   curica curica no food ? wait
5. krẽtire krẽtire nekupeknipečą nehõkačą
   periquito periquito eat ? ?
6. hikuti takąmá punaputẽ
   tiuba seeks a hole
7. čuti kaką'ra kaka punatẽ napui kačwę napui kaprõ'
   big mutuca horsefly blood
   maipõ' napučáne čukaką'ra

Disturbances.—The intrusion of Neobrazilian whisky dealers now interfered with the normal procedure. One of the leaders of the pepkahą'k was found on the steppe dead drunk, and the girl associates began to break seclusion every night to sleep in their mothers' houses for fear of the constantly besotted members. I asked Kentapí whether the same lack of discipline had characterized the festival in 1928 when she had served as associate. She was very indignant, her brother Pąnhí being one of the present drunkards, and declared that no whisky had got to the society on the previous occasion, the leaders had rigorously maintained order, she herself had been tied up for hours for having once broken internment and sneaked off to her mother's home. That year the girl associates had felt perfectly safe by day or night; no one had so much as thought of undue liberties. Also the pepkahą'k had suffered no dearth of meat then and felt no need to steal strangers' cattle. The mem-

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

bers had made hunting trips for days into the wooded Serra do Alpercatas and returned with considerable smoked meat especially of wild pigs. On one occasion her father, Nyõ'hí, had shot three ostriches on one day and donated two to the pepkahą'k.

The next day I confiscated a whisky dealer's stock, then when the council invited me, as usual, to join their evening session, I seriously remonstrated with them because of the degeneration of the festival into a drunken carousal, pointing out the fatal consequences of such contempt for old tradition on the entire tribal organization. Finally I said that in such circumstances I no longer cared to attend the celebration and would depart. Fortunately an appeal to ancient usage almost always produces a good effect on these Indians. The elders were visibly ashamed, took my part and acted accordingly, so that the excesses ceased and the festival was resumed according to program.

Ducks and Falcons.—During the entire period of seclusion these societies maintained a holiday spirit in the village by almost daily dances and log races. Since sundry families were behind schedule with their rice harvest, they repeatedly called on these societies for aid, which was always readily granted. The entire organization would then move for several days to the applicants' farm, loaf, and dance half of the time, but assist at the harvest during the remainder. As compensation they were content with receiving their board and a small quantity of rice, which the girl associates were told to prepare for a common meal in the lodge on the members' return to the village. The homeward trip of course always took the form of a log race.

Various activities.—On May 20 greater variety was ushered in with a race arranged by the pepkahą'k from the plaza to their hut of seclusion. On the next day the villagers began carefully to clear the radial paths of grass and rough spots, beginning with the paths leading from the leaders' houses to the plaza. But the requisite labor was not performed by the inmates of a house, but by the hąpín of the pepkahą'k in question, whose kin compensated his "friend" by a gourd bowl filled with food. In the meantime the pepkahą'k themselves fixed the street leading westward outside the village, continuing as far as the Ponto Creek crossing so that the road almost resembled an automobile highway.

On May 24 these labors of the pepkahą'k were finished. Even several days previously they had begun making mats of burity bast, and now this work was zealously continued.

On the morning of the 24th the Ducks and the Falcons ran a race around the boulevard, then the two societies and their girls, forming one long line along the same street, danced from house to house, collecting victuals. With these they moved into the steppe to hunt falcons in order to secure the large quantity of down required for festive body decoration. Those owning guns received ammunition from me.

At 7 P.M. on June 3 all the men assembled in the plaza and grouped themselves in four divisions. This arrangement, which is peculiar to the King Vulture ceremonial, rests on a distinctive principle, viz., the matrilineal descent of the population according to the *tribes* that gradually contributed to the present village community. For the Rąmkõ'kamekra have come to incorporate fragments of the Čą'kamekra, the Karẽ'kateye, and the Krõ'rekamekra (pp. 30–32, 35). Of the Apą'nyekra only two survivors remain in the village, while the Hõtí (=Apinayé) immigrants are quite extinct, so that these two tribes are no longer represented at the segregation in question. The indigenous and numerically quite preponderant Rąmkõ'kamekra occupy the very center, the three surviving immigrant fragments are grouped along the periphery of the plaza according to the direction from which their ancestors

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

V. RELIGION AND MAGIC

Earlier Sources

In the older literature there are no usable statements about Eastern Timbira religion. According to Ribeiro,

> Nao se lhes conoce a mais pequena demonstração de culto ou religião qualquer que ella seja, pois é sua razão a esse respeito submergida no chaos da ignorancia, sendo lhes bem indifferente que o sol nasça ou que se esconda.
>
> (Not the slightest manifestation of cult or religion is known from them, rather is their reason buried in ignorance in this regard, and they are quite indifferent whether the sun rises or is concealed).[1]

As will appear, things are not quite so bad as all that.

About Põrekamekra religion an interpreter told Pohl the following:[2]

> Die Indianer erkennen ein höchstes Wesen, welches sie mit dem Namen Tur-pi bezeichnen, es wohnt im Himmel, sendet Regen, Sonnenschein und Gewitter und verschafft ihnen Nahrung. Sie glauben an Fortdauer nach dem Tode, ewigen Lohn und ewige Strafe.

I cannot confirm these statements concerning a Supreme Being and am unable to explain the term Turpi. Pohl, with whom Snethlage agrees, ascribes these doctrines to previous instruction by Jesuits from Pará.

Snethlage regards as certain a lunar and astral cult, which he infers from a nocturnal dance he attended.[3] This was performed in the plaza by men in a circle stepping first with one leg, then the other, while turning their bodies, gazing toward the sky, and repeatedly uttering the word katšere (star). I have vainly tried to get data from the Indians concerning this dance, which I never witnessed. Thus, I asked all the precentors for texts of songs containing the word in question or otherwise dealing with stars. The solitary chant which they cited again and again is that concerned with Halley's comet (p. 190). This, however, is sung in quite a different setting and exclusively during a pepyé celebration. Snethlage's visit, however, coincided with a Mummers' festival, such as I was also able to attend in 1935, but without noting anything even remotely suggested by his account. The procedure he saw then must have been of a quite special and isolated character. As a matter of fact, hardly any religious significance attaches to the stars among these Canella, whereas the moon does play a part, though by no means the principal one. Concerning animistic beliefs Snethlage reports nothing.

Fróes Abreu conceived the precentor of the nocturnal dances as a medicine-man and the performances themselves as prayers (rezas in Indian parlance). He heard of a celestial god who was the father of all humanity, but was unable to get further information. Nor was Pompeu Sobrinho able to extract relevant data. He erroneously regards the syllable vrį in pųduvrį' (būt'êra in his orthography), moon, as a feminine suffix, whence he conjectures that a male sun and a female moon are connected with Canella religion. Finally, Abbé Étienne Ignace declares: "Ce sont des catholiques ayant conservé des practiques superstitieuses."[4]

Celestial Bodies

Compared with, say, the Guarani, the Rąmkõ'kamekra certainly have very little religion, being in this respect inferior also to the Šerénte and even to the Apinayé.

[1] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 9.
[2] Pohl, Reise, 2:209.
[3] Nordostbras. Ind., 184.
[4] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 180 f.; Sobrinho, Marrime, 14; Ignace, Les Capiekrans, 478.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929–1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

the body. In order to recover from the exertion of a log race the runners refresh themselves with an infusion of the roots of either the graminaceous ha'tûre or of another plant called poyarkwákꞃ.

In this empirical application of remedies religion is involved only so far as prolonged, but unsuccessful, experimentation is generally followed by a consultation of the spirits either directly or through a medicine-man. If the latter's experience has not yet taught him what medicine the spirits would recommend in a given case, he will seek them out in the woods of a night in order to receive instructions. However, in nearly all cases of grave illness the patient himself attempts to establish contact with the spirits of his ancestors and to learn the proper medicine from them. This procedure, however, involves strict seclusion: the bed is surrounded with mat screens, the patient observes a diet, uses a scratching stick, and abstains from conversation with anyone. Only by following these rules can he hope to see in his dreams the persons he is seeking. He must further preserve complete silence as to his communication with them.

The medicine-men may apply methods besides the above-mentioned infusions and charcoal rubbings. I have several times seen Chief Hąktõkót, possibly the most powerful medicine-man of his tribe, sucking disease out of a patient's body; or, more precisely, *heard* him, for his treatment was always shrouded in darkness and became perceptible only through a horrible sipping sound. The doctor never exhibits the extracted object, for it would strike the spectator with blindness. In the Yawę myth the hero, after becoming a medicine-man by contact with spirits, kneads out of his brother-in-law's body the head of a paca which had entered it because the man had eaten food with blood-stained fingers. Others are said to remove sickness with their hands and to throw it away in the direction of the wind. Blowing on the body also occurs for remedial purposes.

The doctor is compensated only for successful treatment.

Against the epidemics brought in by the Neobrazilians—smallpox, measles, the grippe—the Canella admittedly lack remedies individually applicable. From the Neobrazilians they have adopted smoking the house with a burnt cow horn against epidemics generically. Another loan from this source, against measles, is a decoction of weathered dog excrements to be drunk by the patient, whose treatment is completed with Indian remedies, his body being smeared with the grated leaf-shoots of the paty palm, over which they spread the milky juice of a *Sapium* species, finally rubbing in pulverized charcoal.

When in dread of an epidemic the entire village is subjected to a collective cure in the plaza. In such circumstances Hąktõkót walked around the assembled throng, smoking from a funnel of paty-palm leaflets and waving away the disease with his hands. When the smallpox broke out in 1935, the people made a fire in the plaza, threw quantities of green sucupira twigs into it, and exposed themselves to the dense, white smoke. Then the medicine-man, holding a bunch of twigs of this tree, spread his legs wide apart, whereupon all the villagers, male and female, irrespective of age, had to crawl on all fours between his legs, receiving a few lashes on their backs with the twigs.

Another means of arresting the epidemic is to set up a staff from the rib of a bacaba palm leaf on the road by which the disease is expected to approach the village.

A few words may be injected on the supposed killing of old and sick people. Canella tradition does not mention the custom. In myth, Yawę' when hopelessly sick is abandoned by his tribe when it shifts its settlement, but is provided with water and food, and after a while the people call in order to look after him. Accord-

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

Besides suction these people know but a single remedy against snake bites. The pulverized charcoal of a horse bean called kañ'kate is tied on the sore spot and is drunk in water. The natives themselves have little confidence in this procedure. When Kentapí had been bitten by a snake and was bleeding from the mucous membrane, she asked me for some petroleum, which she drank according to Neobrazilian usage in such cases.

On one occasion I saw Kwujkõ' safeguarding the whole population against snake bites. All of them were assembled in the plaza in two parallel, facing lines extending north and south. The shaman walked behind the lines from one person to another; he had two little leather straps and for the space of a moment put one around an ankle of each person in turn. Like other medicine-men who undertake collective treatments of this order, he did not receive any remuneration. Subsequently, I had no difficulty in obtaining the straps in exchange.

The third time I observed him doctoring a woman suffering from violent toothache. He lanced the swollen gum with a snake tooth neatly and firmly mounted on a rod the length of a span; this implement, too, I was able to get by barter.

The pupil whom Kwujkõ' intended to train showed no inclination for the shaman's profession, hence was allowed to go. Hąktõkót also had a disciple, about thirteen years old when I first saw him in action. Even then his master allowed him to execute a collective cure against a menacing epidemic. All the villagers were standing crowded together in the plaza, while the boy ran round them, waving a sucupira twig. Hąktõkót told me a pupil had to abstain from meat pies and any other form of meat for at least a month; he must refrain from sex relations and daily rub his body with the small pieces of a yellow root in order to be visited by the spirits, who at last would appear to him in a dream. After announcing this result in the plaza he would be acknowledged as a shaman.

Compared to the training imposed in other tribes, the course of a Canella pupil is rather easy and simple. Again and again one is impressed with the slight interest in supernaturalism manifested by these Indians. This was also illustrated during the Guajajára visit. Among these Tupí neighbors conditions are quite different; their shamans, who operate with tobacco narcosis, temporary departure of the soul from a living body, possession by animal spirits, etc., attempted to impress their hosts with an exhibition of their powers. One of them appeared with two assistants, smoked and rattled convulsively, then blew thick clouds of tobacco smoke into the assistants' open mouths. They fell as though dead, and he resuscitated them. The hosts, however, never dreamt of taking all this seriously; they merely took great pains to learn Guajajára melodies for subsequent use as dance songs, but otherwise the performance meant mere fun for them.

Sorcery

Sometimes the spirits give a shaman a disease substance "to be reared" by him. It is said somewhat to resemble rosin. The medicine-man can then use it to afflict personal enemies by blowing it in the desired direction through the hollow of his hand or by furtively interring it before the victim's door or in the plaza. The person bewitched will then die from some unascertainable disease. According to the mode of application such magic may affect single individuals or the entire village.

On the other hand, clippings of hair or other parts severed from the body are never used in sorcery.

As soon as a person is seriously suspected of having compassed another's death by sorcery (hũčí), his life is forfeited among all the Timbira, the council decree-

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

give up their mission in Colonia because of the hostile attitude assumed by the Guajajára. An attempt to settle among the Krîkatí was frustrated by the dispersal of that tribe in 1930. Since 1924 the missionaries have been also interested in the Krahô',[275] where two Neobrazilians, Zacharias Campello and Francisco Collares, have been operating, but in 1930 I was unable to detect there any influence on the native modes of thought. Collares was repeating the old Capuchin error in trying to transform the Krahô' villages into a colony. His attitude is illustrated by his remark to me about log racing; this must be abolished, being a barbarous, brutal sport detrimental to Indian health and tending to "exterminate" so useful a tree as the burity; in its place he intended to introduce the civilized football game. He bitterly complained that since my arrival the Krahô' were absenting themselves from him, and tried—intelligibly enough from his standpoint—to throw all sorts of obstacles in my way. I got the impression that even then many of the Krahô' were thoroughly tired of him. After another five years' activity he made statements about the Krahô'[276] that prove his complete ignorance of the Indians' religious and social ideas—the part of their life which should be of foremost interest to a missionary. Not long after this he seems to have abandoned the mission, which his colleague had left some time before. In 1937 I met him again in Piabanha on the upper Tocantins, where he owned a school for Neobrazilians, a shop, and several houses, and—I do not know with what justification—presented himself as a missionary to the Šerénte.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra have hitherto had neither Catholic nor Protestant missionaries. Such knowledge as they have of Christianity results from observation of Neobrazilians and the occasional, clumsy efforts of these neighbors to impose their ideas. However, the possibility of adopting the alien faith is quite inconceivable to these Indians, in whose life even indigenous religious notions play a subordinate part. Accordingly, their supernaturalism has remained free of foreign admixture. Baptism and, exceptionally, church weddings are resorted to not for religious but solely from social motives since Neobrazilians equate pagans with the wild beasts and recognize only marriages sanctioned by the church.

The Indians do know the names of half a dozen saints, but lack any notion of their or of Jesus' personality; these names, like the Devil's, merely figure as rhetorical embellishments of their Portuguese speech, patterned as it is on Neobrazilian models. They are thus quite indifferent to the figures of Christian faith. Unlike the Šerénte, they have made no attempt to identify these—except for God the Father—with aboriginal counterparts. Auké (p. 245) is regarded as the Brazilian Emperor Pedro II. The cross does not even serve magical purposes; the little crosses and saints' medallions worn around the neck are regarded as purely decorative. This is the extent of their "Catholicism," to which Ignace refers. The Protestant songs the Indians, especially the women, try to learn, precisely as they do the heathen chants of the Guajajára.

[275] Grubb, Lowland Indians, 29.
[276] Estevão Pinto, Indígenas do Nordeste, 214, note.

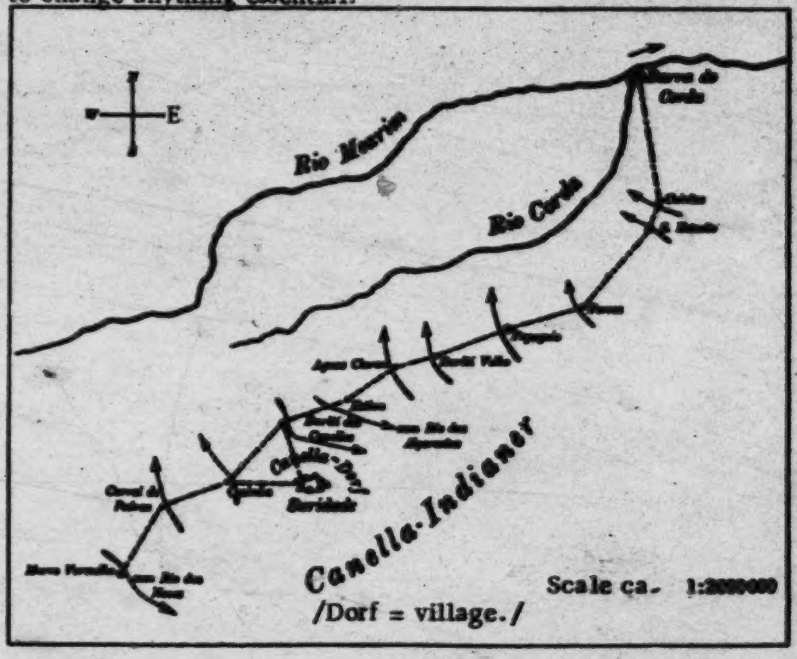
It seems to be a common feature

/45 cont./

177 of all Gē tribes that they generally assume a bluntly negative attitude toward the civilizing efforts of the Portuguese population and, however much inclined they are to accept the amenities offered to them by the Whites with respect to material things, nevertheless in other respects they continue to live in strictly conservative fashion with the traditional tribal usages and customs.

797 In this matter even a century long catechism has not been able to change anything essential.

101
102
103
131
133
361



797 According to concurring mission reports, there seems to have
177 been no success at all /46/ in achieving any lasting influencing and
171 education of a Gē tribe in the sense of European culture.

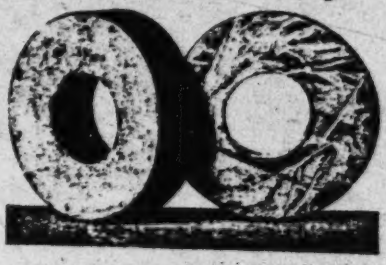
For example, the French Dominicans on the Araguaia, according to their own statements, have been unable to exert any permanent educative influence even of only nominal value on the Kayapó /Cayapo/ during a period of almost 15 years of devoted missionary activity.

/46 cont./

177 [323] [273] Like these representatives of the Gẽ group, the Canella Indians, in contact with the Whites for over a century, have adopted the art of pottery. Like the former, the production of fermented beverages, which in general they both detest, is unknown to them.

It is not lack of ability which prevents the Canella Indians, and with them all their tribal relatives, from acquiring the cultural achievements of higher nations, but rather their innate indolence, rooted in them for thousands of years, which, however, is perhaps only a conscious defense against all foreign influences.

[301] ←



Pierced ear-disks (kui). 1/2 natural size.

114 175 [113] The scanty data which Martius (1) gives us about the once

1. Martius, Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachkunde Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography and Linguistics of America, especially of Brazil/, Vol. I, 1867, p. 285.

numerous Canella Indians and their subhordes were taken from the descriptions, generally excellent, but not always quite clear, of Major Francisco de Paula Ribeiro (2), who, starting out from São Luís,

[113]

2. a. "Roteiro da viagem, que fez o Capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro ás fronteiras da Capitania de Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815 em serviço de S.M. Fidelissima /Logbook of the

/47 cont./

123 Scarcely 15 minutes later there appeared before us from
[137] out of the dry underbrush of the forest, which shortly afterward
[142] changed into densely overgrown tableland, a copper-brown,
[291] frightenningly ugly, already old Canella Indian, completely naked,
[302] with long deep-black hair flowing down over his shoulders and
[304] back (4), his ear lobes slit far apart, and holding a bow and arrows
[411] in his hands.

4. The hair style of the Canella Indians corresponds exactly to that of the Pure-came-Crans /Porecamecra/, according to the description by Martius. See Ethnographie I, 287. "The Pure-came-crans wear their hair hanging down stiffly from the crown of the head to the ears and cut it here, following the curvature of the head in such a way that a furrow is formed, under which they let it grow again and fall down to the shoulders." The hair skullcap is actually the tribal badge of the Canella, and thus the supposition that the Canella of Suridade might be a remnant of the Pure-came-Crans visited by Pohl is not unjustified.

302 171

302 619 114

in his hands.

123 576 [171] The usual Brazilian greeting formulas, which were quite familiar to the old man:

"Como passou compadre /How are you, Friend/?"

"Muito obrigado. E como vae o Senhor /Very well, thank you. And how are you, Sir/?"

"Bem /Fine/." Laconically it continues. -- The Canella: "Do you have any tobacco?"

Answer: "No. -- We are going to your village." -- "I shall go with you."

[302] [411] Shortly afterward we met five more comrades of grotesque appearance, painted with urucú red and genipa juice, almost all armed with guns. -- Another greeting scene.